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QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXV.

JULY, 1917 — APRIL, 1918.

Published by the Publishing Committee
of Queen's Quarterly, Queen's
University, Kingston.

LE3.Q1
V.25
Jul. 1917 - Apr. 1918

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Queen's Quarterly.

VOL. XXV

July, August, September, 1917

No. 1

THE ARMENIAN DEPORTATIONS.

IN giving an account of the Armenian deportations I take the liberty of quoting at length from a volume of documents examined by Viscount Bryce and arranged by Mr. Toynbee, late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and bearing the title, "The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-16." The information is drawn from native Christians who succeeded in escaping out of Turkey or in getting letters out, from neutral residents in or visitors to Turkey, from Germans resident in Turkey, and even from Turks who participated in the deportations. For obvious reasons the sources of information must in most cases be kept secret, but they are vouched for by Viscount Bryce. This information, emanating from many different parts of the country, agrees so circumstantially in its general lines and often in most minute details where collusion on the part of the informants is out of the question, as to constitute clear evidence of the general facts. Viscount Bryce has summed up in an appendix the procedure of the deportations.*

"The fundamental unity of procedure is," he says, "more sinister than the incidental aggravation of the crime by Kurds, peasants, gendarmes or local authorities. It is damning evidence that the procedure itself, which set in motion all the other forces of evil, was conceived and organized by the Central Government at Constantinople."

In the autumn of 1914 there was a general levy of all males in the Empire from eighteen years of age to fifty, in which the Armenians were included with the rest. "There were also drastic requisitions of private supplies, by which the Armenians, again, were the principal sufferers, since they

* "The Treatment of the Armenians," pp. 637 ff.

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were the chief merchants and store-keepers of the country." When, however, the winter campaign of 1914-15 broke down, "the unmeasured optimism of the winter gave place to equally violent depression, and under the influence of this new atmosphere the persecution of the Armenians entered a second and more positive phase."

"A decree went forth that all Armenians should be disarmed. The Armenians in the army were drafted out of the fighting ranks, re-formed into special labour battalions, and set to work at throwing up fortifications and constructing roads. The disarming of the civil population was left to the local authorities, . . . who demanded the production of a definite number of arms" and imprisoned and tortured, often in fiendish ways, those who could not produce them. "Few of these were young men, for most of the young men had been called up to serve; they were elderly men, men of substance, and the leaders of the Armenian community, and it became apparent that the inquisition for arms was being used as a cloak so as to deprive the community of its natural heads." †

"The second phase of persecution passed over without a break into the third and final act. . . . On a certain date, in whatever town or village it might be, the public crier went through the streets announcing that every male Armenian must present himself forthwith at the Government Building. . . . The men presented themselves in their working clothes, leaving their shops and work-rooms open, their ploughs in the field, their cattle on the mountain side. When they arrived, they were thrown without explanation into prison, kept there a day or two, and then marched out of the town in batches, roped man to man, along some southerly or south-easterly road. They were starting, they were told, on a long journey—

† "Armenian professors in American colleges (in Turkey), with university degrees from European and American universities, were tortured by pulling out their hair and beard and their finger-nails, by hanging them up by their arms for hours, and by beating. They were afterwards killed." ("A National Test of Brotherhood," published by The American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, New York, p. 5). "The Arachnort (Bishop) was mutilated, drenched with alcohol, and burnt alive in the prison yard, in the middle of a carousing crowd of gendarmes, who even accompanied the scene with music." (Ibid., p. 9).

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to Mosul or perhaps Baghdad. It was a dreadful prospect to men unequipped for travel, who had neither scrip nor staff, food nor clothes nor bedding. They had bidden no farewell to their families, they had not wound up their affairs. But they had not long to ponder over their plight, for they were halted and massacred at the first lonely place on the road. The same process was applied to those other Armenian men who had been imprisoned during the winter months. . . . This was the civil authorities' part, but there was complete co-ordination between Talaat Bey's Ministry of the Interior and Enver Pasha's Ministry of War, for simultaneously the Armenian Labour Battalions, working, behind the front, were surrounded by detachments of their combatant Moslem fellow-soldiers and butchered in cold blood."

In some places, notably in the proximity of the Russian advance in the Caucasus, the Armenian civil population, women as well as men, was practically exterminated. In the western provinces of Asia Minor a large proportion of men survived, while "the women and children were not disposed of by straightforward massacre. Their destiny, under the Government scheme, was not massacre but slavery or deportation. After the Armenian men had been summoned away to their death . . . the crier was heard again in the streets, bidding all Armenians who remained to prepare themselves for deportation. . . .* This applied, in actual fact, to the women and children, and to a poor remnant of the men who, through sickness, infirmity or age, had escaped the fate marked out for their sex. A period of grace was in most cases accorded for the settlement of their affairs and the preparation of their journey; but here, again, there were cases in which the victims were taken without warning from the loom, the fountain,

*Copy of an official proclamation. "(1) All Armenians are to leave in batches of 1,000—the men, separated from the women, in one direction, the women in another. (2) No one is to take with him more than 200 piastres, (about \$8.50). If, after examination, anyone proves to have more than this, he will be brought before a Council of War. (3) No one has the right to sell his property." ("The Treatment of Armenians," p. 328.)

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or even from their beds,† and the respite, when granted, was in a great measure illusory.”

“There was an official fiction that their banishment was only temporary, and they were therefore often prohibited from selling their real property or their stock. The Government set its seal upon the vacated houses, lands and merchandise, ‘to keep them safe against their owners’ return’; yet before these rightful owners started on their march they often saw these very possessions . . . made over by the authorities as a free gift to Moslem immigrants who had been concentrated in the neighbourhood.”

“The exiles from each centre were broken up into several convoys, which varied in size from two or three hundred to three or four thousand members. A detachment of gendarmerie was assigned to every convoy, to guard them on the way,” and ox-carts were assigned them, usually one to a family, but the drivers invariably refused to go farther than a few days or even a few hours’ journey, and the exiles had to go forward on foot “across some of the roughest country in the world. It was the hot season, the wells and springs were sometimes many hours’ journey apart, and the gendarmes often amused themselves by forbidding their fainting victims to drink.”‡

The exiles were “women and children, the old and the sick. Some of the women had been delicately brought up;

†Whole villages were deported at an hour’s notice, with no opportunity to prepare for the journey—not even, in some cases, to gather together the scattered members of the family, so that little children were left behind.” (*Ibid.*, p. 472.)

‡“On the fifty-second day they arrived at another village, and here the Kurds took from them everything they had, even their shirts and drawers, so that for five days the whole convoy marched completely naked under the scorching sun. (Some travelled thus naked all the way to the city of Aleppo. The poor women could hardly walk for shame; they walked all bent double.) For another five days they did not have a morsel of bread, nor even a drop of water. They were scorched to death by thirst. Hundreds upon hundreds fell dead on the way, their tongues were turned to charcoal, and when, at the end of the five days, they reached a fountain, the whole convoy naturally rushed towards it. But here the policemen barred the way and forbade them to take a single drop of water. Their purpose was to sell it at from one to three liras a cup, and sometimes they actually withheld the water after getting the money.” (*Ibid.*, p. 266.)

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some had to carry children in their arms too young to walk; others had been sent off with the convoy when they were far gone with child, and gave birth on the road. None of the latter survived, for they were forced to march on again after a few hours' respite* . . . Many others died of hunger and thirst, sunstroke, apoplexy or sheer exhaustion. . . . Those who conducted them did everything to aggravate their inevitable physical sufferings. Yet this was the least part of their torture; far worse were the atrocities of violence wantonly inflicted upon them by fellow human beings.

"From the moment they left the outskirts of the towns they were never safe from outrage. The Moslem peasants mobbed and plundered them as they passed through the cultivated lands. . . . When they arrived at a village they were exhibited like slaves in a public place, . . . and every Moslem inhabitant was allowed to view them and take his choice of them for his harem; the gendarmes themselves began to make free with the rest, and compelled them to sleep with them at night. There were still more horrible outrages when they came to the mountains, for here they were met by bands of brigands and Kurds. . . . It depended on the whim of the moment whether a Kurd cut a woman down or carried her away into the hills. When they were carried away their babes were left on the ground or dashed against the stones. But while the convoy dwindled, the remnant had always to march on. . . . Women who lagged behind were bayoneted on the road or pushed over precipices or over bridges. The passage of rivers was always an occasion of wholesale murder. Women and children were driven into the water and were shot as they struggled. . . . The last survivors often staggered into Aleppo naked. . . . The only chance to survive was to be

* "Women in childbirth were urged along by bayonets and whips until the moment of deliverance came, and were left to bleed to death. The likely girls were . . . raped day after day by the guards until death came as a merciful release." (H. A. Gibbons, "The Blackest Page in Modern History.") The Hebrew prophet must have had scenes like this in his mind when he describes by contrast the leading of the Lord Jehovah, "He will feed his flock like a shepherd, he will gather the lambs in his arms, and carry them in his bosom, and will gently lead those that have their young." Is. 40: 11.

plain enough to escape their torturers' lust, and vigorous enough to bear the fatigues of the road." †

"The dispersal of the exiles was extremely wide, but certain features are common to all the places to which they were sent. They were all inhabited by Moslem populations alien to the Armenians in language and habits of life; they were all unhealthy—either malarious or sultry or in some other respect markedly unsuitable for the residence of a people used to a temperate climate; and they were all remote from the exiles' original homes. . . . The Government did its best to heighten the climate's natural effect by marooning the exiles there, after an exhausting journey, with neither food, nor shelter, nor clothing, and with no able-bodied men among them to supply these deficiencies by their labour and resource." ‡

† "On the seventeenth day when they reached Aleppo, 35 women and children were left out of the 3,000 exiles from X., and 150 women and children altogether out of the whole convoy of 18,000." ("Treatment of Armenians," p. 267.) "In general the wastage seems to fluctuate, with a wide oscillation, on either side of fifty per cent.;" from 40 per cent. to as high as 96 per cent. (Ibid., p. 650.)

‡ "Only in few places does the Government issue any rations, and those quite insufficient. People are therefore forced to satisfy their hunger with food begged in that scanty land or found in the parched fields. Agents found them eating grass, herbs, and locusts, and in desperate cases dead animals and human bodies are reported to have been eaten. . . . With few exceptions no shelter of any kind is provided, and the people coming from a cold climate are left under the scorching desert sun without food or water." (Ibid., p. 684.) "Practically all the towns of Syria are full of these exiles whose condition is most pitiable. . . . One sees them in X— on pieces of waste ground, in old buildings, courtyards and alleyways, and their condition is simply indescribable. They are totally without food and are dying of starvation. If one looks into these places where they are living one simply sees a huddled mass of dying and dead, all mixed up with discarded, ragged clothing, refuse and human excrement, and it is impossible to pick out any one portion and describe it as being a living person. . . . Occasionally a large convoy is collected and put on the road to the desert. Unnecessary brutality is shown in the expulsion of these people, the majority of whom are simply living skeletons, and one sees emaciated and hunger stricken women and children beaten with whips like dogs in order to make them move. . . . On all the main routes one finds a continual stream of refugees dragging themselves wearily along and going forever southwards. Their ultimate destination is unknown to them. . . . If they knew, however, what they would find and what would ultimately happen to them, they would prefer simply to sit down and wait for death without going any further." (Ibid., pp. 552 ff.) "Another child said: 'Mother, will ever the time come again that I can eat as much as I like?' The people kill and eat street dogs. A short time ago they killed and ate a

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Basing his estimate on generalizations from the evidence in hand, Viscount Bryce made the estimate nearly a year ago (the volume referred to was published July, 1916) that of approximately two million Armenians resident in Turkey prior to the war, one-third had been massacred outright or died under the rigour of the deportations; another third had been deported and were in a state of starvation in such concentration camps as have been described; 200,000 or more had escaped in Russia and Persia or were in Turkish territory occupied by Russia; and only between a quarter and a half million Armenians were still in their homes or had turned Moslem and been scattered among Turkish villages. Last fall and winter saw little if any let up in the rigorous persecution of the Armenians, and it is probably safe to say that except for the cities of Smyrna and Constantinople and the towns occupied by Russia, practically the only Armenians left alive in Turkey are scattered about in deportation camps in the desert or in the towns en route, and that hundreds of thousands have since died of starvation or exposure. But the number of destitute exiles in Turkey has been maintained by the extension of deportation methods—though perhaps in a less cruel and vindictive manner—to Nestorians, Syrians and recently to Greeks, while the general shortage of food in the country, and the deliberate removal of supplies from districts of Syria populated mainly by Christians has doubled the number of those exposed to the immediate danger of starvation. The head of the municipality in Damascus is authority for the statement that “120,000 have died during the last two years in the city alone.* He told me,” our informant writes, “that they have arranged to have fifty wagons carry the dead from the streets, but the number of

dying man. . . . I saw a woman who from the street ate the clotted blood of an animal. Up till now they fed themselves with grass, but that, too, is now dried up. . . . (An Arab gave a child bread.) The child took it and was going to eat it, but then bethought himself, held it close to him and said, ‘If I eat it now I will be hungry again to-morrow.’ A mother threw herself into the Euphrates, after she had seen her child die of hunger; a father did the same.” (“National Test of Brotherhood,” pp. 19 f.)

*These are probably in large part Armenian exiles.

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dead is much more than they can handle, and many are left in the streets helping to spread disease." Another informant quotes the Governor of Lebanon as saying that 200,000 had died in Lebanon alone and many more thousands were starving. Another writes, "There are over 15,000 of these Greek refugees here. They are absolutely penniless and nearly naked. The cold here is severe and their suffering is intense. They often spend the nights in the open fields. The need is awful. For the next three months is to be an opportunity to save thousands from actual starvation." †

A leaflet accompanying Viscount Bryce's official Report on the German Outrages in Belgium, says, "It is the desire of the Dominion Government that this official report should be circulated widely and read with care, so that the causes for the determined prosecution of the war by the Allies may be well understood." Acquaintance with the awful facts of Turkey's attempt to exterminate subject Christian races should only help to increase the determination that as far as Turkey is concerned this war shall be a war to the finish. As a subject the Turk is fairly docile; as a ruler he has proved himself to be reactionary, repressive and cruel, unfitted to control the destinies of alien races. His government is an anachronism in the twentieth century not only in Europe but also in Asia. It is to be hoped that this war will result in the total liberation of the Bible Lands from Turkish rule and from German influence which has sanctioned, if it has not instigated, the latest cruelty of the Turk.

† "The Most Terrible Winter the World has Ever Known." Extracts from latest Cablegrams and Reports (Dec. 1916-Feb. 1917), to the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief. Good authorities estimate more than two million souls, mostly women and children, including Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Nestorians, and Syrians, now either actually starving or on the verge of starvation, besides millions of others, including Moslems, suffering from shortage of food. To feed, clothe and shelter the two million nearly naked, absolutely destitute, starving people (to say nothing of the rest) appeal is made, at the rate of ten cents (!) per head per day, for six million dollars per month, as a minimum. Hitherto relief has been granted in Turkey proper on the woefully inadequate basis of forty cents per head per month, and that to only a fraction of the needy persons.

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But the liberation of Bible Lands from Turkish rule will be a mockery if through callous indifference Western Christendom allows the Christian subjects of the Turk to die through starvation and disease. We must not only fight the Turk and the German on the battlefield but must also defeat their nefarious plan to despoil the lands they hold by coming to the speedy relief of starving Belgians, Poles, Serbs, Armenians, Greeks, Syrians and Jews; so that when the lands which Germany has occupied for two years and more and which the Turk has occupied for over six centuries are restored to their rightful owners, there may be some remnant of those rightful owners left to enter into their heritage.‡

‡Relief work in the Caucasus and Persia is being carried on from England by the Lord Mayor's Fund and the Friends of Armenia, and is to be inaugurated in the occupied territory of Palestine and Syria by the Syria Palestine Relief Fund. In Turkey proper, as well as in the Caucasus, Persia and Egypt, the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief (Metropolitan Building, New York) has been carrying on relief work through American missionaries and other agents. The Turkish government has recently removed restrictions hitherto imposed on relief work, and the deportees are finding their way by the thousands to relief centres established by Americans. An Armenian Relief Fund Association of Canada has been established with headquarters in Toronto, and branches in Victoria, B.C., and in Kingston. The officers of the Toronto organization are: Chairman, Mayor T. L. Church; Hon. Treasurer, Donald A. Cameron, Manager Toronto Branch, Canadian Bank of Commerce; Secretary, A. D. Parker, 508 Lumsden Bldg. The officers of the Kingston organization are: Chairman, Bishop E. J. Bidwell; Treasurer, George E. Hague, Manager Kingston Branch, Merchants Bank of Canada; Secretary, L. P. Chambers, Queen's University. From Toronto the funds collected are forwarded to London or to New York.

L. P. CHAMBERS.

EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN ENGLAND.

IN these days of stirring events on land and sea, it is scarcely to be expected that already congested cables should find room for matters so little suited to the popular taste as speeches on educational reform. The man on the street concerns himself but little with the educational policies of his country. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the Canadian Press gave little space to the speech of Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Chairman of the Board of Education, in the British House of Commons, on April 19th. And yet, since the outbreak of war, few speeches in the Imperial Parliament have equalled in importance the maiden address of Mr. Fisher. On all sides it was received with approval, the Press being practically unanimous in its favourable criticism. Indeed, in the view of some critics, his speech marks the dawn of a new educational era.

As will be pointed out below, the need for reform was great, and one can but admire the wisdom of Mr. Lloyd George when, in forming his Government he appointed, not a politician but an educational enthusiast as Chairman of the Board of Education. The vital importance of such a step in relation to the problems facing England and which will face her after the war, can scarcely be overestimated. The war has brought many changes and many rude awakenings to the people of England, none more important than an awakening to the urgent need and far-reaching importance of educational changes. Stoppage of supplies, sudden dislocations in the industrial world, the removal of a vast army of men from commercial pursuits led inevitably to a close examination of British industrial and educational methods, with consequent revelations of defects and weaknesses. The age-long controversy of the classicist and the scientist was revived; research councils were appointed; the press was flooded with expressions of opinion, and, in general, the nation indulged in much serious stock-taking. A great deal of discussion centred about improve-

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ments in "efficiency"—that much abused word—to be brought about by changes in the nature of the training received by university men. Now, great as the possibilities of such changes may be, it was evident to many that the "bed-rock" problem of any reconstruction had to do with reforms in the education of the masses. Given a stop to the tremendous wastage resulting from the neglected education of thousands of the youth of England, many of the problems of efficiency would take care of themselves. That Mr. Fisher is a man thoroughly seized with this idea and, besides, possessed of an intimate knowledge of existing conditions, is one of the most hopeful signs of what the future has in store.

Of the need for reform in England, there is no doubt. In spite of the Children Act of 1903, giving local authorities power to make employment of children under 14 illegal, there are many exemptions, while the pernicious system of "half-time" for workers under 14 seriously impairs the value of the schooling these "half-timers" receive. The *Times* (January, 1916), while recognizing the excellent character of elementary education up to the age of 11, states that "between 11 and 14 the primary school system has failed lamentably." Not one-half of the children attending elementary schools pass through the higher grades. Between the ages of 12 and 14, nearly half a million get practically no schooling, while between 14 and 17 there are one and a half million without any day school. Over 81 per cent. of all the youth between 14 and 18 are practically out of touch of any educational influences. The factories are filled with youthful wage-earners for whom little or no provision is made for any training in the most critical period of adolescence. It is true night schools are available, but lack of compulsion and long working hours make them almost ineffective. Conditions such as these were naturally visible to those who had eyes to see, without the aid of any war stimulus. In 1914 we find the Education and Technical Education Committees of the British Science Guild calling attention to the seriousness of existing conditions. Still earlier, in a report issued in 1909 by the Consultative Committee, it is stated that "at the most critical period of their lives a very large majority

of the boys and girls in England and Wales are left without any guidance and care. This neglect results in great waste of early promise, in injury to character, in the lessening of industrial efficiency and in the lowering of ideals of personal and civic duty."

The evil is aggravated by the position of the teachers. Miserable salaries, inadequate retiring allowances, an unfair social status, make one of the noblest professions anything but desirable. In his presidential address before the National Union of Teachers (April 11, 1917), Mr. T. H. J. Underdown gave some startling facts relating to salaries. Forty-two thousand qualified teachers in England receive less than £100 a year. Few mechanics would even consider such a salary! The average salary for a qualified male head teacher is £176 per annum, for an assistant male £129. A sufficient number of the right type of teacher—no matter how self-sacrificing he or she may be—can hardly be secured with such conditions.

Mr. Underdown pointed out further that the desired improvement in the education of the youth of England would mean such an increase in the number of pupils as to cause a serious shortage of teachers. Indeed, even under present conditions, there is cause for alarm in this respect. Annually, some 3,000 teachers are being trained, whereas the wastage due to death, sickness, superannuation, marriage, transfer to other lines of work, etc., is about 7,000. The war has absorbed some 20,000 teachers, many of whom will not return to the teaching profession. In the event of compulsory education, with no exemptions, of all children up to the age of 14, some 6,000 additional teachers will be required, while the introduction of the reforms to be outlined below will mean a total of some 30,000 teachers. Any programme of reconstruction, therefore, had to give serious consideration to the means of providing the necessary teachers, as well as to a big improvement in their lot—two problems in reality but one.

Although a verbatim report of Mr. Fisher's speech has not been accessible, its general character and the nature of the changes outlined have been gathered from numerous press reports and comments. His address seems to have been charac-

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terized more by his lofty conception of the fundamental importance of elementary education than by an elaborate programme of immediate reform. The following quotations will give some idea of Mr. Fisher's outlook: "Our popular system of education seems to have been popular in one sense only. The State has provided schools in which the children of the people are educated, but I am afraid I cannot say that it is popular in the higher and better sense—that is to say, that the schools of the people have behind them what they ought to have, and what they deserve to have, the enthusiastic support and zeal of the whole body of the working classes. *What I desire to see is an entire change of tone and feeling with regard to National Education.*" (Extract from reply to a deputation of the Workers' Educational Association, April 18)—"We are only just beginning to realize that the capital of the country is in the brains and bodies of the people." (From speech, April 19.) Surely no mistake was made in putting educationl reconstruction in the hands of the man who makes such statements.

To illustrate the growing recognition of the supreme importance of national education—a fact not always recognized even in circles which ought to be better informed—Mr. Fisher related the following incident. The commander of a cruiser flotilla, with a scratch crew at his command, wrote to a school inspector, "the way those fellows picked up the job seemed to me perfectly marvellous. There is something in your d——d board school education after all." The writer of this tribute doubtless belongs to the somewhat exclusive, somewhat prejudiced but thoroughly excellent class of "Public School" men. The value of his testimonial is none the less on that account. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of such recognition of the quickened intelligence and improved discipline that result from even the most elementary education. No doubt the war has provided many other illustrations of this fact.

While much of Mr. Fisher's speech may have been of a general nature, specific proposals were not lacking. His estimates provide for an increased expenditure during the coming year of some £4,000,000, an increase of 10 per cent., and a lit-

tle more than one-half the daily cost of the war. The reforms outlined will involve in the near future a doubling of the present expenditure, but as that is "almost one-quarter of the annual expenditure on alcohol" it is scarcely a matter for serious concern. It is not surprising that the greater part of the increase is to be devoted to an improvement in the salaries of teachers. Mr. Fisher is thoroughly convinced of the fundamental importance of having good teachers, no matter what the scheme of reform. As a large portion of the increase takes the form of enlarged grants to local authorities,* the actual benefit derived by teachers depends to some extent on the wisdom and farsightedness of these bodies. That a real danger exists here is evident from a discussion which took place at a meeting of the London Education Committee shortly after the announcement of the estimates. This committee complained of the smallness of the London grant and, according to one newspaper, discussed the whole question as if it were a measure for the lessening of local rates. But the Board of Education has no doubt sufficient control and watchfulness to prevent any such abuses. That it is alive to possible dangers is clear from the fact that the amounts of the increased grants to local authorities depend on the way in which these bodies proportion their expenditure. "The new grant of £3,420,000 for elementary education is to be paid to the local authorities in proportion as they raise adequate sums from the rates, improve conditions under which teachers work, and provide for special needs of the older pupils and of special subjects." (*Spectator*).

A portion of the increased allotment—£433,000—is for the improvement of the condition of secondary schools, "the key of the situation," as Mr. Fisher remarks. Apparently, this is all too little in view of their "sadly anaemic" condition and of the tremendous importance of this phase of education, but no doubt it is only the beginning of better things. It is interesting to note that at the British Association for the Advance-

*For the benefit of Ontario readers it may be stated that the Board of Education in England corresponds to our Department of Education, while the local authorities are somewhat similar to our Municipal Boards of Education.

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ment of Science in 1913, it was stated that "fifty years hence everybody would be educated up to the secondary school level and the number of university students would be increased ten times." Perhaps this prophecy of Sir James Yoxall will have a much earlier fulfilment under the new regime the war has brought about. Certainly a hopeful sign is to be found in the increase, since the outbreak of the war, in the number of children attending secondary schools. According to Mr. Fisher, this is the result of the higher wages obtaining under present conditions.

At the close of his address, Mr. Fisher referred to many important changes which will be embodied in a Bill shortly to be introduced. It will be seen from the following list of some of these proposals how much ground there is for hope for the future:

- (1) The establishment of nursery schools for children under five.
- (2) The abolition of all exemptions from attendance at school up to the age of 14.
- (3) The improvement of conditions in rural areas.
- (4) The co-ordination of all schools, with obligations imposed on county authorities for better and more complete education.
- (5) The establishment of Day Continuation schools to meet the crying need for the physical, mental and moral training of adolescents in employment.

In this connection, the report of the Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education after the war has received, no doubt, full consideration. This report recommends, among other things, the desirability of obliging local bodies to provide continuation schools for children, ages 14 to 18, and the *compulsory* attendance of all such children in employment for at least 8 hours per week.

- (6) The establishment of an inexpensive secondary school in each area.
- (7) A consideration of the whole question of post-graduate and research work at the universities.

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Mr. Fisher's programme was enthusiastically received, and, on all sides, welcomed as the beginning of much better things. It is true the *Westminster Gazette* expressed its disappointment and indulged in some adverse criticism, chiefly on the grounds of inadequate increases in the estimates, lack of a ground plan to co-ordinate the whole country, lack of specific obligation to bind local authorities, and a general failure to measure up to the new standards necessary to meet "the new spirit in education" and "to make our education equal to that of the most advanced countries in Europe." It is safe to say, however, that a man with Mr. Fisher's ideals will go as far as public opinion will allow him, and that there are many real grounds of congratulation on the part of all interested in this vital matter. Mr. Lloyd George had the interest of true reform at heart when he appointed Mr. Fisher to the post he now occupies, the initial duties of which he has so ably discharged.

J. K. ROBERTSON.

HOW FAR IS PUBLIC OWNERSHIP WISE?

GOVERNMENT ownership of public utilities long preceded municipal ownership, which at first was of slow growth. The construction and operation by the Canadian Government of canals and railways has an interesting history, associated with the development of the internal commerce of the country and the consolidation of the confederation, but also involving the expenditure of very large capital, which has been increased from year to year, and does not realize any return on the investment. In the earlier days of the settlement of Ontario, the construction of canals by the Government to surmount the difficulties of transportation, especially past the rapids of the St. Lawrence between Prescott and Montreal, and in overcoming the large difference of level between Lakes Erie and Ontario, became a necessity in the interests of this settlement. It was not possible at that time, because of the large cost of these undertakings, that they should be the unaided work of private enterprise, nor was the investment of private capital to be expected in view of the policy of the Government to lighten as much as possible the dues on vessels and goods passing through these canals. Later on, the Imperial Government transferred to the Canadian Government the canals on the Rideau route and Ottawa River, which it had constructed, chiefly for military reasons, satisfactory at the time, but which the opening of the St. Lawrence canals had rendered of much less value commercially. More recently, the increasing demands of transportation, the greatly enlarged size of the steamships engaged in the traffic on the upper lakes, and the practical freedom of the canals to all vessels, have led to the building by the Government of the 900 ft. lock and its accompanying short canal at Sault Ste. Marie, and the construction, now under way, of the new Welland Canal, the locks on which will accommodate steamships of over 700 feet in length, and drawing up to 25 feet of water. These two works must, inevitably, lead to further enlargements, in the near future, of the St. Lawrence canals and route, to admit

of moderately sized steamships from the ocean reaching not only Toronto, but Fort William at the head of Lake Superior. Canals in Canada have thus become, by common consent, subjects for government ownership, and, in the interests of transportation, have been made free from tolls.

Railways were a more costly and a much more difficult problem for the Government. A loan of over \$15,000,000 to the Grand Trunk Railway in the earlier stages of its construction, an unpaid debt, which, after about sixty years, that railway appears to have about forgotten, was the first practical interest of importance taken by the Canadian Government in railways. Federation of the provinces, and the great distances between the Maritime Provinces and the cities of Ontario and Quebec, led the founders of confederation to agree to the construction, under an Imperial guarantee of the bonds, of the Intercolonial Railway, connecting the Grand Trunk Railway system with Halifax and St. John, and to provide Prince Edward Island with a well equipped, narrow gauge system of its own. Later, somewhat similar reasons, in connection with the settlement of the prairie provinces, and the entry of British Columbia into the confederation, resulted in the commencement of construction, by the Government, of the present Canadian Pacific Railway as a national work. In planning the route of the Intercolonial Railway, military reasons and politics prevailed in the selection of the much longer line by way of the Bay of Chaleur, and, in its subsequent operation, its construction as part of a bargain, claimed to have been made, under which the Maritime Provinces entered confederation, has led to unwavering demands by these provinces that passenger and freight rates and patronage should always be arranged in the interests of these provinces, and no government has had the courage to resist these demands. The result of this, and of the large amount of unprofitable territory passed through, is that frequently the railway has not met even its operating expenses, not to speak of the interest on its capital cost, and the expenses of renewals and improvements, whilst its deficits in these matters now probably exceed the original cost of construction. The knowledge of this no doubt largely weighed with the Government

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in deciding to transfer to a private company the completion of construction, and the subsequent operating, of the Canadian Pacific Railway before it was much under contract past Winnipeg, and to aid this company with the completed and uncompleted sections of the railway, cash loans and ample land grants, to enable it to finance such an important undertaking. During the next quarter of a century or more, except for some additions made to the Intercolonial Railway in the hope of increasing its revenues, the interest of the Canadian Government in railways was confined to land grants, cash subsidies and guarantees of interest on bonds, given to private railway undertakings. Then came a change of policy, a reasonable cause for which it is difficult to understand. A proposal submitted to it by the Grand Trunk Railway to extend its Ontario system westward from North Bay to the Pacific coast under a government guarantee of its bonds, was altered and greatly enlarged by the Liberal Government of the day planning a new route for the railway from Winnipeg eastward, and its construction by the Government, this new route forming the eastern division of a transcontinental line commencing at Moncton on the Intercolonial Railway, and passing thence through central and northwestern New Brunswick, northern Quebec and northern Ontario, and connecting at Winnipeg with the proposed Grand Trunk Pacific Railway through to the Pacific coast. This was a political move in favour of the eastern parts of the country, and, evidently, in order to grant some equivalent to the western people, the construction of the long talked of Hudson Bay Railway was also determined on by the same Government. These two railways have thus far involved a vast expenditure of capital, and are not yet, in either case, ready for continuous operation. This eastern division of the transcontinental line was constructed in opposition to the judgment of the Grand Trunk Railway and probably of every traffic expert, as being an immense section of nearly 2,000 miles of railway passing through country, most of which could afford but trifling traffic to the road, and will form a burden which the sections west of Winnipeg will find it difficult to carry. And the Hudson Bay Railway is in a similar position of not being in a climate and

country which could give rise to much local traffic, its only recommendation claimed being that it is part of a short through route from the central prairies to Great Britain, regardless of the facts that it is not shortness of distance, but shortness of time taken in going that distance, in addition to safety from dangers, and a railway trackage continuously throughout the year earning profitable returns, impossible in this case, which must be considered in such an enterprise.

The planning of canals by the Government has been, generally, in the interests of commerce, although there have been undertakings, notably the Trent and Tay Canals, which have not proved, thus far, to be of much service commercially, and the reasons for the construction of which, at the time, were to be found, rather in political considerations, and the expenditure of money in their neighbourhood, than in any pressing need for these undertakings. The planning of government railways has, however, rarely been, if ever, free from these political considerations. Through the country being practically unsettled, Ontario can, perhaps, be credited with fewer faults in this respect than the Dominion Government, in its planning and construction of its one steam railway, the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario, which, whilst it has not been profitable, specially serves the mining districts beyond North Bay, and affords facilities for Ontario trade reaching the transcontinental railway. With conditions as they have long existed in Canada under our political systems, it is not possible for governments to plan, construct and operate railways with that single eye to economy in cost of construction and operation, financial returns to those who have advanced the money for this construction, and future development, which characterizes privately owned roads. The reasons are not difficult to find. The government has constituencies to serve, and, under our party system, political supporters to placate, in laying out the route of the road, whilst the private corporation, with shareholders and bond-holders to whom dividends will in time be due, must plan the road with a view to profitable results only. The governments, again, have always the public treasury to fall back upon should the cost of construction exceed the estimates, or should

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the operating of the road result in a deficit, both almost invariable results with our government roads, whilst the private corporation has by its act of Parliament a fixed bond issue which is, during construction, always a beacon light warning it to keep within its resources, and, in operating, has its financial credit to maintain, and the fear of a receiver to give it stimulation. Further, the government, which is a constant prey to its supporters, too often does not seek, nor can it, generally, obtain, the highest ability in its railway officials, nor, in its service, is there that incentive to success which influences the work of the officials of the private road, who are, naturally, governed by the interests of the road, and can always look forward to the advanced posts in the service as the reward for merit.

Government responsibility in connection with railways has, however, in recent years, taken a new and burdensome phase, through the indiscriminate granting, by both Dominion and Provincial Governments, of guarantees of the bonds of, especially, the two transcontinental railways, the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk Pacific. These guarantees last year aggregated \$417,000,000, of which \$212,000,000 were given by the three prairie provinces and British Columbia, and they led not only to much more railway construction, including competing, and even parallel, lines, than the population, existing needs and early future development of these provinces required, but appear to have been granted without any thought of the possibility of the respective governments being called on to pay the interest on these huge obligations, and of the bearing on this possibility which competing lines and the absence of prospective traffic would have. The inability of the railways to earn the interest on their bonds has come to pass, and the governments have been brought face to face with the position. Fortunately, the possibility of financial trouble on the part of any of these provinces has been averted for the time by the Dominion Government, during the past two years, aiding these railways to tide over their difficulties. This led to the question of future government action with regard to the two railways being referred to a Commission which has now sent in a majority and a minority report.

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One *fatal* recommendation of the majority report is the appointment of a board of trustees, nominated by Parliament, that is, by the government then in power, and whose successors have always to be approved by this government. This means the selection of subservient trustees with limited experience, who can be counted on to operate the road with due regard to government interests, and who, under any circumstances, would have to seek the government's aid in raising the funds necessitated by the reorganization. Another *fatal* recommendation is the linking up, in the east, of the well-established Grand Trunk System, operated through—most of it—very remunerative territory, with not only the unremunerative Intercolonial and eastern divisions of the Canadian Northern, but 2,000 miles of government road from Winnipeg to Moncton, passing through, the much larger portion of it, territory which never can support a railway, and never can furnish any attractions to a progressive agricultural settler. The recommendations of the minority report are more feasible, but, without doubt, will be considered revolutionary and unfair by the two railways concerned.

Two circumstances must be kept in view when considering the question of future government action: (1) whatever course is adopted, even if a receiver were appointed, the different governments must come to the aid of these railways, at least to the extent of the guarantees; and (2) the Dominion Government by constructing such an unnecessary and unprofitable length of line from Winnipeg to Moncton; by not adopting on the western prairies a policy of concentration of population under which new districts would not be opened to settlement and to railways until the older districts were fairly populated; and by encouraging, by means of land grants, guarantees and cash subsidies, so many branch, parallel, and competing lines through thinly settled territory, has aggravated the situation very greatly. And the provincial governments by their free-handed giving of guarantees have been equally blameable. Under these circumstances, a feasible way of solving the question would be to maintain the *status quo*, with the following conditions:—That the Dominion Government should aid the roads by way of loan to pay their

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interest for, if necessary, a year to come; that, for a period of five or more years, passenger and freight rates in Canada should be raised ten to twelve per cent. to enable the railways to increase their net revenue sufficiently to meet interest, and, at the same time, to increase their credit in order that needed capital for equipment and for improvements would be more readily forthcoming; that no extensions or branches or new issues of capital be permitted without the approval of the Dominion Railway Commission; that the two aided railways should transfer a total of sixty per cent. of their capital stock to the Dominion Government to be held permanently for the people of Canada, but the remaining stockholders to be allowed through their directors to control so long as efficient management prevailed; and that the Government should retain its own systems, but that to help the traffic on them, the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific should, where not utilizing the lake route, send, via the government roads, their shipments from the west intended for maritime points and for export to Europe, and the imports from Europe through them for the west, wherever they control the route, and should devote the connecting lines they have between Ontario and Winnipeg to Ontario business. Twelve per cent. increase in traffic rates will probably afford to those two railways a net revenue of towards ten million dollars annually. With manufacturers and farmers, for a long time past, cheerfully demanding advances of, in some cases, over one hundred per cent. for their products, there should be no grumbling over an advance of twelve per cent. in railway rates. The moral effect of the sixty per cent. holdings by the Government would be efficiency, but if trustees ever had to be installed, they should be trained railway experts appointed by an independent body like the judges of the Supreme Court or the Railway Commission, and should have full control.

The difficulties into which these two railways have fallen is a definite warning to the Province of Ontario that it stands on dangerous ground when it gives general encouragement to the proposal to spend towards one hundred million dollars on electric railways to be constructed, according to some surveys already made, here and there throughout the Province, com-

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peting with, and sometimes even paralleling, the existing steam roads. Both in the United States and Canada, experiences with the electric railway, as a financial proposition, have thus far not been satisfactory. More than half of our Canadian electric roads do not pay the interest on their bonds, and the result is much the same in the United States. As a general rule, it may be laid down that railways live by population, agriculture, manufacturing and mining, and that no main line road, steam or electric, can be successful, unless it has important cities for its terminals, and active towns or well-settled agricultural, or valuable mining, country between them. Short roads connecting a good traffic-producing country with such main lines, and operated jointly with them, may also have a possible opportunity to succeed. A great railway system can even have branches which are not themselves remunerative, but afford through traffic to the main line, where the long haul of this traffic to the distant city may probably make up the loss, but many branch lines do not accomplish this, and are a drag on the main line. Yet, large numbers of the municipalities of Ontario, which at present are fairly well served by railways, are clamoring for electric roads, and are willing to burden themselves with huge issues of debentures to finance their construction, regardless of the fact that most of the lines which they desire will not be remunerative, and of the probability that they will be called on, not only to meet the interest and sinking fund of the bonds, but to incur further indebtedness for renewals and improvements. Their readiness to vote large blocks of debentures, which some could not pay and which all would find a burden in meeting, seems almost to imply that they do not expect to be called on to pay for deficits, but look to the Ontario Government, which, through the Hydro-Electric Commission, has been fostering these roads, to provide for any deficits and all future increases of capital. The municipalities continue under the delusion that these electric railways are to be municipal roads, but wherever they have voted debentures to form a background for financing these undertakings, they have deeded absolutely to the Hydro-Electric Commission whatever rights or interests they might be supposed to have in them, or in their con-

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struction or operating—for the much talked of surpluses, where not imaginary, will be needed for renewals and betterments, which are invariably associated with railways. And the Hydro-Electric Commission is, in turn, an operating arm of the Ontario Government. Further, undertakings carried on far outside the limits of any municipality, and which cannot be and are not intended to be, controlled by it, are not legitimate subjects for municipal ownership, and notwithstanding acts of parliament, the question may be raised some day as to the propriety of issuing huge blocks of bonds for financing the construction of such undertakings, and even as to the legality of the bonds. It might be said, generally, that any undertaking which would contribute to the direct comfort, convenience or other economic advantage of the residents of a municipality, or of a greatly preponderating majority of them, and which is carried on within, or alongside, the municipality, and can thus be definitely controlled by it, could be regarded as a possible subject for municipal ownership, but there are limitations. That the municipality should engage in the business of supplying food products, or of coal, even for the laudable object of keeping down the high cost of living, is very questionable. There are other ways of grappling with soaring prices, and it is not fitting that municipalities should compete with their own merchants. The operating of street railways, the supplying of water, gas and electric light, and the distribution of power, are, however, admitted to be within the scope of municipal undertakings. Telephones have also, more recently, engaged the attention of the western prairie municipalities. The special economy in construction and in operating, which is by the limitations of their capital and by their duty to shareholders, forced on the private corporations, is, however, generally wanting in civic management, which, too often, regards with equanimity a deficit, because it can be, as in the case of governments, so readily made up out of the general revenue.

In Canada, public ownership has found its greatest expression in railways, and here both government and municipal undertakings have for years shown unsatisfactory results, which the official returns for 1916 have not improved. Of

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ten municipal electric railways reporting, Guelph with its surface railway costing only \$17,500 per mile, alone shows a profit; Calgary by charging very light taxes avoids a deficit; whilst eight civic roads chronicle a loss. The British Government has recently been pointed to as a convert to public ownership, but this is an error. In order to give the war department the prior right of transport for men, munitions and supplies, over private business during the war, and to co-ordinate this transport work, the general managers of the British railways, which are all privately owned, were formed into a managing committee to operate the roads, as if they were one railway, working for the success of the war, the government guaranteeing the shareholders their usual dividends. The charge has not been for the advantage of the public, as rates have been advanced fifty per cent. The Government at Washington had its opportunity some years ago of taking over the important Union Pacific Railway on very favourable terms, but refused to depart from the general policy of leaving railways to the ownership and control of private corporations. And this, in the interests of economy of construction and operation, and of a good service, and with the safeguards afforded by the Dominion Railway Commission, is the proper course for Canada under the somewhat similar conditions, politically and commercially existing here.

ANDREW T. DRUMMOND.

Toronto.

LOBSTER CONSERVATION IN CANADA.*

Lobster Industry Declining.

IT is impossible to make reference to the numerous special returns and reports on the Canadian lobster fishery published from time to time, but it is quite clear from a perusal of these reports, and similar ones in the United States, that every local lobster fishery from Delaware to Grand Manan, and on to Labrador, is passing through, or has already passed through, one of the following stages:—

1. A period of plenty with abundance of lobsters and comparatively few fishermen using simple gear, and old-fashioned boats.
2. A period of rapid extension beginning in Canada about 1870 and much earlier than this in the older regions of New England.
3. A period of real decline, though often interpreted as one of increase—a period in which there is a rapid extension of the areas fished, multiplication of traps and boats, a decrease in the size of lobsters caught, and consequently of those bearing eggs, and lastly a steady increase in price.
4. A general decrease all along the line except, of course, in the price paid by the consumer.

About 1870 the supply of lobsters along the Canadian coasts seemed inexhaustible. Thus a canner writing in 1873 of the supply of lobsters for his factories says: "The heavy gale of last August drove more lobsters ashore within five miles of my packing houses than I could make use of during the whole summer. They formed a row of from one to five feet deep and I should estimate them at an average of one thousand to every two rods of shore." Another writer commenting upon the abundance of lobsters in those early days,

*Part of the "Official Report upon Lobster Conservation in Canada" by A. P. Knight, M.A., M.D., F.R.S.C., etc.

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remarks: "In spite of their increased commercial value it is nevertheless a fact that in some of the northern parts of the gulf of St. Lawrence good marketable lobsters are used to manure the field."

But twenty years afterwards the tune had changed. People had begun to realize that the supplies of lobsters were not inexhaustible, and that if they wished to conserve the continuance of the canning industry they must at least take some steps to replenish waters that at one time teemed with millions of large lobsters. And so it came about that the first lobster hatchery was erected at Bay View, near Pictou, in 1891. What might be fairly described as a mania for the artificial hatching of commercial and game fish spread over the country, and found expression in demands upon the Government for the erection of various kinds of hatcheries. Accordingly we see to-day hatcheries for trout, salmon, white-fish, lobsters, shad, and pickerel. Whether these have all justified their existence remains to be seen; but this at least may be said of the lobster hatcheries, that notwithstanding all the millions of fry which they are reported to have poured into our coastal waters for the past twenty-five years, the supply of lobsters is steadily on the decline.

Nothing bears out this statement so well as Mr. Vennin's report summarizing the proceedings of the Marine and Fisheries Committee's report in the year 1909, and including very full statistics from 1897 to 1908 regarding the lobster industry, which statistics I am able to present up to and including last season's returns, thanks to officers of the department.

Now if we look at the annual catches measured in one-pound cans of canned lobster, or in pounds live-weight, and divide by the total number of traps, we shall, of course, find the catch per trap, and the following table demonstrates the results:—

LOBSTER CONSERVATION IN CANADA

TABLE SHOWING YEARLY PACK, NUMBER OF TRAPS,
CATCH PER TRAP, ETC.

Year	1-Pound Cans	Traps	Pounds live lobsters	Catch per trap in 1lb. cans	Catch per trap live lobsters	Total catch per trap.
1897 . . .	11,130,554	1,156,352	25,183,100	9.6	22.0	31.6
1900 . . .	10,548,290	1,382,935	18,914,000	7.6	14.0	21.6
1901 . . .	10,056,604	1,363,512	16,419,500	7.7	12.0	19.3
1902 . . .	9,350,121	1,221,236	14,203,400	7.6	11.0	18.6
1903 . . .	10,604,218	1,205,006	10,663,900	8.8	8.8	17.6
1904 . . .	10,762,288	1,288,997	11,104,800	8.3	8.6	16.9
1905 . . .	10,497,624	1,239,651	15,392,400	8.4	12.0	20.4
1906 . . .	10,104,764	1,268,866	10,137,000	7.9	7.9	15.8
1907 . . .	10,660,530	1,340,711	9,749,000	7.8	7.0	14.8
1908 . . .	10,911,498	1,477,623	9,837,300	7.3	6.6	13.9
1909-10 ..	9,071,600	1,458,585	10,394,700	6.2	7.1	13.1
1910-11 ..	8,788,512	1,504,872	11,001,200	5.8	7.3	13.1
1911-12 ..	10,007,136	1,469,192	11,082,300	6.8	7.5	14.3
1912-13 ..	9,005,568	1,590,966	8,537,900	5.6	5.3	10.9
1913-14 ..	7,992,592	1,617,195	10,089,700	4.9	6.2	11.1
1914-15 ..	7,723,296	1,596,538	8,682,400	4.8	5.0	9.8
1915-16 ..	7,822,368	1,371,774	11,932,900	5.7	8.7	14.4

1. One conclusion to be drawn from these figures and one which must be level to the comprehension of even the dullest of men is that an industry in which the catch per trap falls from 31.6 pounds to 14.4 pounds, less than one half of what it was nineteen years before, is certainly a failing industry.

2. Another conclusion, so clear that he who runs may read, is that the yearly sea crop of lobsters varies in much the same way as our land crop of wheat does. Mother ocean and mother earth never produce the same yield for two years in succession. An abundant harvest from the land or an abundant harvest from the sea in any one year does not necessarily mean an abundant harvest the next. There are ups and downs in both. I have often been asked why the catch of lobsters was greater in 1915-16 than in 1914. As well ask me why the harvest this year was less than last. Man may modify the conditions which give him his annual yield of grain by cultivating the soil, but the harvest as a whole will depend upon cold and warmth and rainfall, none of which man can

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control. In any year, let there come a few degrees of frost, a scanty fall of rain, or the blight of rust, and our wheat fields are ruined. This is common knowledge to every farmer; but every fisherman seems to think it wonderful that the lobster crop should vary from year to year. Run your eye down column 7 in the above table. You see the annual catch per trap varies from year to year just as the yields of bushels of wheat per acre do. One variation is no more wonderful than the other. The sea-harvest is less under man's control than the land-harvest; but we may be quite sure that the varying temperature of sea water, and the varying food supply for the fry are as potent in the production of a variable crop of lobsters as temperature and rainfall are for a variable crop of wheat. We can easily conceive how an unusually severe winter, with the increased production of ice floes, the lowered temperature of sea water continued late into spring, would tend to kill not alone the live adult lobsters but also the eggs and fry, so that a few years afterwards when we might naturally expect the normal yield of adults, it would be found that a small catch would be reported.

Again reverting to the gale in 1873 which threw up a windrow of millions of dead lobsters for five miles along the New Brunswick coast,* who can fail to see that six years later the usual crop of half-grown lobsters would be lacking, just because the mothers had been killed in vast numbers six years before. Similarly, who has not heard or read of partridges dying by hundreds as the result of a great snow-thaw, followed by severe frost, so that it was impossible for the birds to obtain their usual shelter under the frozen snow. Thus we see how Nature sometimes limits the harvest from the sea as well as the harvest on land.

3. A third proof that the supply of lobsters is declining is furnished by the following statistics from the last report of the Fisheries Branch of the Department of Naval Service:—

*See "Notes on the Natural History of the Lobster," by Professor Prince, p. 1, Suppt. No. 1, 29th Ann. Rep. Dept. Marine, Fisheries Branch, 1896.

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Areas in which canneries are operated	No. of canneries operated in 1900	No. operated in 1915 and 1916
St. John, Annapolis, Kings	2	0
Digby, Charlotte	21	14
Lunenburg, Queens, Shelburne, Yarmouth	59	51
Halifax, Guysborough, Richmond	74	42
Cape Breton, Victoria	33	32
Cumberland, Colchester, Pictou, Antigonish, In- verness	100	88
Restigouche, Gloucester, Northumberland, Kent, Westmorland	225	151
Kings, Queens, Prince, P.E.I.	246	172
Magdalen Islands, Quebec	159	73
Total operated	919	623

That 296 canneries have ceased operations since 1900 is a very significant fact. No one will believe that they would have been closed, or converted to other uses, if the supply of lobsters had been plentiful. It is quite true that some canneries ceased operations as a result of their owners combining with other owners. By reducing the number of canneries the operators reduced their running expenses. Then again the live lobster trade has tended to reduce the number of canneries especially in southwestern Nova Scotia; but after making every allowance for these two circumstances, the fact remains that the chief reason for closing these 296 canneries lay in the declining lobster supply—a decline that to all appearances is bound to go on until the lobster ceases to be profitable.

4. A fourth set of facts which point clearly to the decline in the lobster industry is the diminishing size of the adult lobsters, especially in Northumberland straits. Many years ago the adult lobsters were all large. They are still large in Passamaquoddy bay, but around all sides of Nova Scotia full grown ones are comparatively rare. This is amply proved by Mr. Halkett's "Tabulations of Lobster Measurements" during the past summer. Off Shag Harbour, Shelburne County, the total lengths of 200 lobsters were 1,937 inches, or an average of 9.68 inches each. At Shemogue, New Brunswick, 204 lobsters measured 1,609 inches, or an average of 7.8 inches, and

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at Pictou, Nova Scotia, the average was 7.7 inches. The average in Passamaquoddy bay, judging from those obtained for the mating experiments, at St. Andrews, N.B., last summer, must have been nearly 14 inches.

Now experience shows that the first effects of overfishing is a reduction in the size. This is true of the halibut grounds in the Pacific. The older grounds there now yield only relatively small fish. The trawls of traps in Northumberland straits, operating in shallow water, have enabled the fishermen there to catch all the large lobsters, so that if fishing goes on at its present rate we may confidently expect diminishing size of lobsters with a corresponding decrease in the percentage of berried females. We cannot exterminate any sea-fish, but we may overfish easily enough, capturing at first the largest size, then the medium-sized ones, until finally the only remaining ones are those so small that it will not pay to fish for them. So will it be with lobsters.

The researches carried on under the Biological Board during the summers of 1914, 1915, and 1916 point clearly to the necessity of a close season extending at least from June 1 to September 30, if the lobster areas are not to be depleted and the industry rendered unprofitable within the next few years. As pointed out elsewhere in this report, hatching begins probably early in June and lasts until the middle of August. In many lobsters, hatching is followed by shelling. What percentage of females cast their shells following hatching we do not know; but it is known that for six or eight weeks afterwards they are quite defenceless and unfit for human food. Also it is known that from the end of June until well into September, egg-laying is going on. Should not the laws and regulations, therefore, which are intended to protect the lobster in its hatching, its moulting, and its egg-laying habits cover the period from June 1 to September 30? Let the other eight months of the year constitute the open season, and during that open season let there be such strict enforcement of the law that no fisherman shall have seed lobsters in his possession. If this is done, a great advance shall have been made in conserving the lobster industry in Canada.

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The objection to trapping during June is easily understood. Everyone who has seen a fisherman hauling his traps in this month must have noticed thousands of eggs dropping off the abdomen of those females which were carrying ripe eggs, sometimes even before they are touched by the fisherman, always, when they are being removed from the traps. The bottoms of fishermen's boats carrying lobsters to the canneries are frequently covered with thousands of ripe eggs. The loss of fry in this way is very great, and the loss would all be saved if the month of June were included in the close season.

Rearing Lobster Fry.

At the end of last season the Biological Board decided to abandon further experiments at Long Beach pond, and to remove such parts of the apparatus as were still serviceable to Bay View, five miles from the town of Pictou, Nova Scotia. This location was chosen because of the higher temperature of the water, and because it was here that the first lobster hatchery in Canada was located in 1891. It was naturally thought that the two operations of lobster hatching and lobster rearing might be mutually helpful, and so indeed they proved to be. The Department of Naval Service furnished the Board *gratis* with motive power, live steam, and fresh sea-water, and the Board's staff of biologists were at hand to aid the hatchery staff with any advice which they might need in carrying on the work of the hatchery.

It was pretty certain that one cause of the failure to rear fry to the crawling stage in 1914, and again in 1915, was the cold water of St. Mary's bay. The low temperature (average 59° F.) delayed development and allowed ample time for the rapid multiplication of diatoms upon the fry, with the result that they died in large numbers. Under the circumstances Professor Macallum, F.R.S., Secretary-Treasurer of the Board, suggested that warm water should be used in 1916. As a result of the adoption of this suggestion this year, not more than 100 diatoms were observed upon any one larva ecdysis, and these diatoms never interfered with either their swimming or feeding.

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This then was the chief departure in our operations in 1916 from those of the two previous years. The change, however, necessitated others. In the first place, we could no longer have our rearing boxes immersed in the sea-water. If we did, there would be an immense loss of heat from the warmed water of our boxes to the surrounding water of the sea. The boxes, therefore, had to be placed upon land, and close to the hatchery, so as to be convenient to steam power and to fresh running sea-water.

In the second place, we had to reduce the depth of water in our boxes. The weight of water in boxes 10 feet by 10 feet, by 3 feet 9 inches deep would be so great that no ordinary deal boards would stand the strain. Accordingly the depth of water was reduced to about 2 feet 4 inches. Even with this reduction the pressure caused bulging of the sides and bottom, with the result that in place of each box being watertight in relation to the other, the joints opened sufficiently to allow our fry to pass from one box to another.

A third change in our apparatus was in the water supply. Whereas in the two previous years, fresh sea-water was drawn in through large openings in the bottom of our boxes and forced out through equally large openings in the sides, this season we were compelled to supply water to our four boxes through iron pipes which conveyed the water from the hatchery tank. It is true that we had a small tank of our own between the big tank and our boxes, but it was for the purpose of warming the cold sea-water up to any desired temperature. The warming was done by passing live steam through a coil of pipes which were placed in the bottom of the small tank. The average temperature maintained was about 68° F. The revolving paddles in each box were continued in use this season, but not for the purpose of supplying a current of fresh sea-water to the fry. The object was rather to keep the fry in motion so as to prevent cannibalism, and to aërate the water by exposing a fresh surface to the oxygen of the air. The only change in paddle movement was a reduction in speed from about nine revolutions per minute to about six. It had seemed to me in our two years' previous experience that nine revolutions produced a current which tumbled the fry about

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to an unnecessary extent, and without any corresponding advantage. Last year the refuse food, the fry casts, dead fry, algae, and other material entering our boxes, were all passed out through the side windows with the water which left our boxes. This year a different arrangement had to be made. A faucet was placed in the bottom of the boxes about the centre. Each could be opened at pleasure, and the refuse passed out as soon as it appeared to have accumulated beyond a point that might prove poisonous to the fry. The flow of water to the fry under this new plan was a subject about which we had no information.

We started operations by supplying each box with a stream of water which allowed about nineteen pints of sea-water to enter and leave every minute. Towards the end of the season Mr. A. B. Dawson carried out an experiment on this subject and made the following report:—

“At Bay View the question was raised: were the larval lobsters receiving sufficient fresh water or was the high death-rate partially due to a deficiency in the supply? The question was a vital one, but work on it was neglected till late in the season and only one experiment was attempted. One specimen of a fourth-stage larva was placed in a hatching jar containing a pint of water. Due to the large size of the jar, which was seven inches in diameter, the surface of the water exposed to the air was great in comparison with the volume. The jar was kept at the ordinary room temperature of the hatchery, which varied according to the changes in the weather. No attempt was made to replace the water lost by evaporation. Food, consisting of cooked egg, was added every two or three days and the uneaten fragments were allowed to accumulate at the bottom of the jar. Under these conditions the lobster lived four hours less than three weeks. That is, the animal survived for 300 hours in a pint of water, which was necessarily considerably reduced by evaporation and had become more or less foul by decaying particles of food.

According to careful measurements the four rearing boxes, which at first contained 20,000 first-stage larvae, received on an average 77 pints of water a minute, or 1,386,000 pints in 300 hours; 70 pints for a single individual. This

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experiment would indicate therefore that the water supply to our boxes was ample, since death came to the subject of the experiment supplied with one pint, only after a period of 300 hours.

Other and more accurate experiments along these lines suggested themselves, but on account of the lack of the necessary time had to be postponed."

Mr. Dawson's conclusion is corroborated by the observations of all who have worked on lobster's eggs and on newly hatched larvæ. I have frequently seen a dozen or more fry live for a week or longer in less than a half-pint of water, and without the water being changed.

On the 9th of July into two of our boxes, fry were transferred from the fry tanks of the hatchery. Two days later 10,000 more fry were placed in the other two boxes, making 20,000 in all; that is, 5,000 in each box. The second 10,000 were fry from our own stock of mother lobsters, of which we had 61 in a compartment under the hatchery wharf. Whatever the reason may have been, these latter fry appeared stronger and more vigorous than those from the hatchery jars. At any rate, more of them survived to the fourth stage. All received the same quality of food, and all were kept at the same temperature, and the only apparent reason for the difference in vitality was that the aëration of the water in our boxes was better than in the hatchery jars. As soon as our first batch of fry was seeded into our boxes, routine work was established and went on as in previous years. The kind of food (scrambled eggs), quantity fed, and times of feeding, were all the same. The fry passed through their first moult in about seven days, their second in about four days, and their third in about four days; and on July 22 we counted out 800 fourth-stage fry, or about 4 per cent. of the 20,000 with which we started operations.

This is rather a poor showing as compared with the 40 per cent. output reported at Wickford. It is, however, equal to that at Port Erin, Isle of Man, where the manipulation is largely by hand, and where the output has ranged around an average of 4 per cent. for the years 1911-1915.

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It happened that Professor Macallum visited our plant the day we distributed our first batch of fourth-stage fry in the sea. In thinking over the heavy mortality which our fry suffered not only at Bay View, but at Long Beach pond in the two previous years, he suggested that perhaps the next advance in lobster rearing lay in the direction of better feeding. He thought that a possible cause of the great mortality lay in the fact that the fry were fed exclusively on cooked food. It is quite true that some of the fry might get some vitamines from the plankton of the sea water, or from eating their fellow-fry, but if not, then the absence of the growth-promoting substances to be found only in raw food would in time prove fatal. By the addition of mineed crab, or clam, to the food, Dr. Macallum thought better results might be achieved. We shall test this matter next season.

A second batch of 5,000 fry was placed in box 4 on July 24, and a second batch of 5,000 in box 3 on July 26. On the 28th, it was observed that some first stage fry were in boxes 2 and 1, indicating that on account of the continued weight of water, the partitions between the boxes had given way and allowed some of the fry to escape from the boxes, 3 and 4, into boxes 1 and 2 in which some 3rd and 4th stage fry of our first batch were confined.

It is well known that cannibalism increases with the age of the fry and accordingly it was no surprise to find the younger fry growing fewer in boxes 3 and 4, because just as they migrated to boxes 1 and 2, they were devoured by the older fry or so-called "Sharks," inhabiting these boxes.

On the 29th, 4 per cent. of the first batch were transferred to the sea. The few remaining of the second batch of fry in box 4 had all moulted by the 30th, taking 5 and 7 days to do so. On the 31st about 1,500 fry were placed in box 1. By August 2nd a few of the second batch in box 4 were in the 3rd stage. From this date onward to the 14th when the machinery was stopped, there was nothing to report except steadily diminishing numbers from causes which we could not understand.

No doubt cannibalism played some part in their disap-

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pearance; but it is likely that the kind of food, or possibly the absence of the natural kind of food, was a factor in their rapid disappearance. Plankton feeding has been tried at the Port Erin laboratory, Isle of Man, but apparently without much success, because, as already stated, only an average of 4 per cent. of their fry has hitherto been reared to the crawling stage.

Our second batch ended with 17 fry in the 4th stage and 135 in the 3rd. This out of some 11,000 or 12,000 larvæ.

Mating Experiments.

As 1916 is the third season during which mating experiments have been carried on, it seems proper to review the results before planning for a continuation of these experiments.

About the 10th of June, 1914, there were placed in a small pound off St. Mary's bay, N.S., 47 females and 15 males all known as "commercial lobsters," because the females when caught in fishermen's traps have no berries on them. The pound was made of wooden slats about 4 feet long by 3 inches wide and 1 inch thick, placed about one inch apart. The area enclosed was 20 feet by 10 feet; the bottom was muddy; and the animals were fed regularly.

On the 12th of August they were dipped up to see what condition they were in. To our surprise it was found that 36 per cent. of the females had extruded eggs. By the end of September the percentage had risen to 64 per cent. On the 7th of April the following spring, thirty females, representing the 64 per cent., were all found alive in the latticed compartment with a full complement of eggs upon them. While Dr. Herrick (quoting from Vinal Edwards' "American Lobster," 1895) reports 12 per cent. as the percentage of berried females caught in fishermen's traps along the Massachusetts coast, in Canada careful inquiries among both canners and fishermen of the bay of Fundy area elicited the information that only about 1 per cent. of the female lobsters carry eggs. It was clear, therefore, that as a mere matter of accident we had increased the percentage from 1 per cent. to 64 per cent. Two questions accordingly presented themselves for investi-

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gation: (1) How is it that 99 per cent. of our female lobsters in the open sea carry no eggs, and (2) how is it that when males and females are brought together in a small pen, as high a percentage as 64 per cent. are found to carry eggs?

Reverting to the thirty females which wintered in our pound, it may be noted in passing that they all hatched their eggs normally during the last week of June and the early part of July, and that nine of the thirty again extruded eggs in July-August, 1915.

As to the mating experiments of the season of 1915, it may be remarked that they were not so successful as were those of 1914. Only 40 per cent. extruded eggs and over half of these were unfertilized.

One reason for this was undoubtedly the lack of males. During the early part of the summer we had only one male to serve fifty-one females. Later on, we were fortunate in securing twenty-five more males, but half of them died by accidental poisoning with the "Indian Red" paint on the inside of their pen. Moreover, many of the remaining ones were undersized—9 to $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. But perhaps the main cause of the poor results lay in the fact that the large majority of the females had been retained in the pound over winter and had suffered much in general health. Few of them had moulted and their "shells" were covered with a dark brown algal growth that I have always seen upon lobsters in lengthened confinement in a muddy pound, but never upon lobsters that are taken directly from the open sea.

In 1916 the Board authorized an extension of the experiments to two additional areas on the maritime coast, namely, St. Andrews, N.B., and Pictou, N.S., on the Northumberland straits. The extrusion of eggs at the three localities was 26 out of 105 females at St. Mary's bay; 8 out of 22 females at St. Andrews, and 14 out of 21 at Pictou, or, roughly speaking, 25 per cent., 36 per cent., and 66 per cent. respectively.

How do these percentages compare with the percentages on females caught in lobster traps in these same areas? Fortunately we were able to make some approximation to an answer to these questions through some investigations which,

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under instructions from the Department of Naval Service, Mr. Halkett, an officer of the Fisheries Branch, was detailed to carry out. He spent the summer of 1916 going out with the fishermen at various points along the coast and compiling statistics as to the total males, total females, and percentage of berried females caught in the lobster traps. He carried on the work during the open seasons in the different districts of Nova Scotia and in the straits of Northumberland, and his results may be considered to be fairly typical of the conditions prevailing in the open sea, so far as such conditions can be gauged from the catches in the traps of the fishermen.

From the returns thus secured, it is clear that the percentage of female lobsters carrying eggs, taken in traps, varies from less than 1 per cent. in the bay of Fundy area (which may be said to include St. Andrews and St. Mary's bay) to 4.2 per cent. in Northumberland straits; whereas mating lobsters in artificial compounds in these same areas shows an increase over these figures of 2,500 per cent. at St. Mary's bay, 3,600 per cent. at St. Andrews, and 1,600 per cent. at Pictou.

Any attempt to estimate the value of lobster mating or lobster breeding in pens inevitably brings up the question of the relative numbers of females which naturally carry eggs on the sea bottom. We have unfortunately no direct knowledge of the relative numbers of males and females in the open sea. When lobsters were abundant as in the sixties and seventies, it would have been possible to determine more accurately than now the proportion of males to females, as well as the percentage of berried ones; but to-day with greatly reduced numbers scattered over wide areas the determination is more difficult. We are dependent upon the lobster trap for our inferences, and the lobster trap gives widely varying numbers in different areas.

Undoubtedly the percentage of females carrying eggs varies greatly along both the Canadian and the American shores, and this is a very important matter when we come to estimate the value of mating. If the lobster traps give us a true idea of the lobster population on the bottom of the sea,

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then the efficacy of mating is beyond all dispute; but if there are in the open sea many more berried lobsters than are revealed by traps, then there may be little or no efficacy at all in mating in pens. Manifestly, therefore, it is of the highest importance to gather as much information as possible regarding the lobster population on the ocean bottom.

It cannot be admitted that the theory of biennial egg-laying with moulting in the alternate years can have any reasonable bearing upon our mating experiments. Because, in the first place the theory has never been shown to be founded upon facts. On the contrary, we have had females in confinement both in 1915 and in 1916 which did extrude eggs for two years in succession. Moreover, Mr. T. Anderton, the superintendent of the Maritime Fish-hatchery, Portobello, New Zealand, reports annual spawning by 11 out of 15 lobsters in 1911, nineteen out of 21 in 1910, and twenty-three out of 23 in 1909. In addition to contradictory facts like these, the theory is faced with the further difficulty of explaining how it happens that 50 per cent. of the females are not carrying eggs if they spawn every second year. Of course, those who believe in annual spawning have the greater difficulty still of explaining how it happens that 100 per cent. of the females are not carrying eggs. A believer in biennial spawning who criticizes our mating experiments by saying that the 26 females out of the 105 at Long Beach would have spawned anyway whether in pens or in the open sea, would be bound to explain why there were not 52 of them with eggs in place of 26. Similarly, he would have to explain how it was that only 8 extruded eggs at St. Andrews in place of 10. At Bay View he would be met with the greater difficulty still of explaining how it came about that 14 spawned out of 21, when according to his own theory only half of the 21 should have done so. The fact is that the theory breaks down completely upon even a superficial examination, and it is high time that it were discarded altogether.

A comparison of the decreasing numbers of any of our wild land animals with the decreasing numbers of lobsters will show that over-shooting on land produces similar results to over-fishing in the sea. In both, man is the destructive

agent. He clears the land and shoots the game. The numbers of the adult animals dwindle, and, of course, the number of young also. As the animals decrease, the survivors become more and more widely scattered, and mating less frequent whether the animals be deer, partridge, or ducks. So it is with lobsters. The statistics kindly furnished me by United States Fish Commissioner Dr. Hugh M. Smith, shows this beyond all question, and for our Canadian waters, Mr. Hal-kett's figures do the same. As the lobsters become more widely separated, mating becomes less frequent, with the result that there are fewer females carrying fertilized eggs. Moreover, if the eggs which are extruded are not fertilized, they will "go bad" and drop off sooner or later, thus greatly reducing the percentage of berried females.

On the assumption that the catch of berried females in lobster traps represents approximately the proportion of berried females on the sea bottom, the efficacy of mating in pens as a means of conserving the lobster industry may be fairly claimed to have been demonstrated by our three seasons of experimentation. To say the least, the results thus far amply justify further experiments on a larger scale, and if the results prove as satisfactory as those already achieved mating will far surpass either lobster hatching or lobster rearing as a means of conserving the lobster industry.

Lobster Sanctuaries.

What can we do to stay the decline of our annual lobster harvest? The initiative has been taken by the Government, and it is too late now to talk about leaving the problem to either the lobster fishermen or the canners. The former do not yet realize that their industry is declining, and that it can only be saved from becoming unprofitable by united action on their part; while most of the latter know perfectly well that the industry is waning, but before their profits reach the vanishing point they may be trusted to either close up their factories altogether, or sell them to less experienced operators. The fact that 296 canneries have ceased operation since 1900 tells its own tale.

What is to be done? It is useless to look to the hatcheries

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as a means of replenishing our depleted waters. Rather are they agencies of destruction than of conservation, if the Bay View hatchery is to be considered a fair type of the work they do. We must therefore look elsewhere for succour—but where? If fishermen would voluntarily agree to return all berried females to the sea, a great deal might be accomplished towards postponing the evil day; but the greedy and the lawless would render this method of conservation of no avail, by not obeying the law, just as they have not obeyed it in the past.

Nor can it be said that lobster rearing plants are likely to be more effective than hatcheries. At the end of three years' experimentation, the best results are 4 per cent. out of our first batch of 20,000, and 13 per cent. out of our second batch of 11,500. Even if we had succeeded in rearing 40 per cent. of our fry, which is the percentage reported from Wickford, Rhode Island, the success of a rearing plant is not by any means demonstrated. For, just as we know nothing about the number of fry that will grow to maturity from the operation of a hatchery, so we are equally ignorant of the numbers which will grow to maturity from the operations of a rearing plant. The best that can be said in favour of lobster rearing is that more of the fry are *likely* to become adults than are the fry of a hatchery. But that is not saying much. How many will actually grow into adults no man knows, and consequently we shall always be in the dark as to whether the rearing plant gives any adequate return for the expense of building and operating it.

The lobster industry is a huge one, the annual catch in Canada being estimated at from 70,000,000 to 90,000,000, according to an authority quoted by the Canadian Shellfish Commission in their report of 1912-13. Assuming Professor Herrick's estimate to be correct, that one adult lobster only grows to maturity from 15,000 eggs, it follows that by either natural or artificial means of conservation no fewer than about 1,200,000,000,000 of eggs would be required each year to make good the annual loss of adults. Where are so many eggs to come from? Certainly not from our fourteen Canadian hatcheries, because they furnish according to Govern-

ment returns only about 760,000,000, not the one-thousandth part of what would be required to replenish the annual destruction. Let it be remembered too that this estimate of 760,000,000 fry as the output of all our hatcheries is far higher than it should be. Probably 100,000,000 is nearer the mark and, if so, they do not furnish the ten-thousandth part of the fry that are required to keep the industry where it is to-day.

These figures are referred to not because they are considered important and convincing but because they serve to emphasize the huge scale upon which conservation must be planned if conservation is to avail anything. As well attempt to stay a city's conflagration with a squirt as try to conserve the lobster industry with the petty outfit of either hatcheries or rearing plants.

The destruction is on a huge scale; restoration must be equally huge. The problem is not impossible of solution. In stemming the tide of destruction we must aim at doing big things, and the two biggest things are (1) to increase the production of eggs, and (2) to care for the berried mothers. We may well emphasize the protection of berried lobsters because canners and fishermen alike affirmed this summer that they had never seen spawn-bearing lobsters so scarce. If so, we may look for a small pack of lobsters six years from now.

Coming back to our problem, the question is how can we increase the production of eggs, and how can we protect the berried females on a scale big enough to cope with the annual destruction by canners and fishermen. Certainly not by mating on the petty scale on which our experiments have been carried on during the past three summers. Little enclosures 10 feet by 20 feet with a couple of dozen females impounded in them are well enough for demonstration purposes, but cannot achieve anything as conservation agencies. But prohibited and protected bays of several square miles of area—lobster sanctuaries—in short, well stocked with thousands of full-grown lobsters, would in a few years make a great difference in the annual catch. It cannot be too clearly understood that by sanctuaries I do not mean lobster pounds of small areas enclosed by costly walls. I mean large natural

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bays or harbours if possible with narrow entrances which are to be set apart by Government specially for lobster culture. Take for example the area from which the Bay View hatchery is supposed to draw its supply of eggs. It has been estimated that about 30,000 spawn lobsters should have reached the seven canneries in the Bay View area during last spring. Whether this number actually did reach the canneries is not at present under discussion. The important point is that there were 30,000 berried lobsters whose eggs should have been carefully conserved by both canners and fishermen. If we accept the estimate that every berried female 10 inches long carries at least 10,000 eggs, we see that the 30,000 mothers should have furnished 300,000,000 eggs for the Bay View hatchery. How is it that only 71,000,000 reached the hatchery? Can it be that three-quarters of the eggs were "brushed" into the sea or put into the boiling pots of the factories? It would be interesting to see this mystery cleared up. But aside from that, the big question is, what should be done with these 30,000 females. Some of the fishermen realizing the serious condition of the industry have petitioned the Government to close the hatchery, and propose to return all berried lobsters to the sea. Returning the spawn lobsters to the sea just where and as they were caught would not be a wise move, because the same mothers would be caught over and over again, and this would entail serious labour and loss of time upon the fishermen. It would, I think, be wiser for the hatchery launch to gather up all these mothers and place them in Bay View harbour as a sanctuary and protect them from all poachers. The mothers would hatch out 300,000,000 fry, a decided gain over the 15,000,000 fry turned out by the hatchery last summer.

Naturally enough, the fishermen who would surrender the 30,000 mothers would like to be paid commercial prices for them, say 30 cents each, but no Government could afford to pay out \$9,000 per annum for spawn lobsters in one small area. A conservation policy must be a general policy, applicable alike to every accessible area of the Canadian coast, and it would cost the enormous sum of about \$400,000 annually to purchase all the berried females that are caught along

our Canadian coast. If these berried lobsters are to be returned to the sea when and as they are caught the fishermen must be willing to donate the berried lobsters to the Government as their contribution towards conserving the future of their industry. The Government, on its part, should patrol the prohibited bays and protect the lobsters until the eggs have hatched out. That would be conservation on a big scale, but even this would not be big enough to make good the estimated catch of 1,470,000 lobsters in the Bay View area.

Lobster mating is another agency that promises well and that can easily be operated on a vast scale, if found efficacious. I am not, however, prepared to advocate lobster mating on any large scale at present. Experiments have not been carried on long enough or on a sufficiently large scale. Considering the necessarily small way in which they have been carried on during the past three years, the results show an increase of eggs ranging from 1,600 per cent. to 3,000 per cent. The efficacy of mating in small pens 10 feet by 20 feet has been clearly demonstrated by the Biological Board. What is needed now is demonstration on a larger scale. Two or three large areas like the southwest end of Long Beach Pond, N.S., should be used next summer. If 1,000 males and 1,000 females were placed in such a sanctuary for July, August and September we should know whether mating is likely to be a success or not when tried on a larger scale. If the Baker pond, Cape Breton, is suitable (it may easily equal Long Beach) then it, too, should be pressed into service as a mating sanctuary for next summer. With the results of mating 4,000 or 5,000 lobsters before us next year, we should be in a position to know more definitely whether we may look with confidence to mating on a large scale as a conservation agency for the future.

But let us proceed slowly. As pointed out in my report of last year, there is great danger of excessive mortality if sanctuaries are too small in proportion to the numbers of lobsters which are confined in them. Confinement and restraint of movement press heavily upon nearly all wild animals. Thus the death rate among lobsters long confined in Long Beach pond was high. The U. S. has had a similar experience. In the Fisheries Service Bulletin, issued at Wash-

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ington for June, 1916, page 4, under the heading "Lobster Culture in Maine," we are told that of 17,808 berried lobsters placed in Pemaquid pound, Maine (area $\frac{2}{3}$ acre), in the summer of 1915, only 12,910 were alive in April of 1916. The editor adds, "this heavy loss, amounting to nearly 29 per cent., and the comparatively poor results in egg collections, can only be accounted for by the severe weather conditions to which the stock was subjected during the early part of the winter." In my judgment, a portion at any rate of this serious loss may fairly be credited, not to the severe winter, but to the close confinement of a large number of animals in an area much too small for their comfort and health. That this conclusion is a fair one is evident from the fact that the animal loss in the Pemaquid pond varies from 15 per cent. to 30 per cent. These facts show that our lobster sanctuaries must be carefully selected—neither too small nor too large. They should be sufficiently large to accommodate a large number of mating stock, and should be chosen only after careful examination by an expert biologist. If too small, the stock will suffer, if too large the expense of looking after them and especially of capturing and examining them at the end of the season would be very great.

The duty which lies nearest to our hand now is to bridge the gulf that exists between mating in a pen 10 feet by 20 feet and mating in a bay as large as Bay View harbour—6 miles long by 1 mile wide. If it were proved by experiment during the next two seasons that commercial lobsters enclosed in an area of one or two acres, extruded from 16 to 30 times as many eggs as are found in the open sea, then the Government might safely set apart a number of large bays as lobster sanctuaries, stock them with the largest males and females that can be found, and reasonably expect in a few years to stem the tide of destruction. The cost of one such experiment would range from \$1,600 to \$1,800. But the cost must be met and the experiment must be tried before it would be safe to conclude that a large bay or sanctuary for mating lobsters would necessarily be successful. The principle of a National Park on land for the conservation of our forests and wild game is clearly the principle upon which we must try to conserve our lobster industry.

A. P. KNIGHT.

THE NECESSARY QUALIFICATIONS OF A LANGUAGE TEACHER.

THE XVII century moralists, la Rochefoucauld, la Bruyère, T de Méré, and the rest, who sought to establish the canon of gentle manners for their time, were wont to enumerate the various qualities of the honnête homme—to wit, a pleasing and urbane presence, a ready tongue, the complete suppression of pedantry, and the absence of the least hint of professionalism. To these, however, they added a final polish and grace which they were forced to call “le je ne sais quoi.” That is what I shall try to establish for the art and practice of teaching language, and therefore perhaps this paper were better entitled “The Unnecessary Qualifications of a Language Teacher,” though that depends on the point of view. “If you aim at the moon,” says an Arab proverb never too often to be quoted, “you may hit the tops of the trees.” The teacher with high ideals will, through his influence on his pupils’ method of thought, and therefore of expression, eclipse the pedagogue whose horizon is limited by the matriculation lists. But in any case this final polish and grace—scholarship, we may term it incompletely—will so sharpen and poise the more material instruments of the craft, that the work of preparing for examination will itself be more soundly and efficiently accomplished.

What, first of all, are the essentials—not the vexatious side-shows that the exigencies of our school system force upon the unresisting victims of Faculty curricula, method in plain sewing for the science specialist, method in physics and plumbing for the classical teacher, and so on—but the simple ordinary equipment without which no man or woman can hope to teach French. From the teacher of French, then, I would require: the ability to hold a simple and phonetically accurate conversation in that language, a clear understanding of the sounds and their production, exact knowledge of an elementary text-book of grammar, and the ability to write grammatically.

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That is the class-room minimum, or ought to be. Actually, I fear, many teachers aspire only to the last two, for the simple reason that they are quite sufficient for examination requirements as they now stand, a position in which they are tacitly fortified by the attitude of persons who argue that the teacher fresh from school is better qualified to instruct because he has the text-book at his finger-tips and a mind unsullied by the taint of extraneous ideas. Just now, we are very sorely in need of ideas, and it is on the capacity for ideas that I would base the "je ne sais quoi."

Let us consider the objective of the first two years' teaching of French. Out of our class of say 40 beginners, assume that as many as 20 will eventually matriculate—that is probably a high estimate—and that 20 will leave school after two years of the course. The problem is then to provide something for the half-timers, while at the same time interfering as little as possible with the routine progress that is a necessary part of examination work. It will, I think, be admitted that in two years there is little hope of teaching children to read even simple French with fluency, unless we are to devote all our attention to that object, to the exclusion of the writing knowledge at present demanded by the syllabus. And even then one would not be too confident of success. We can offer something to these two-year or one-year students by making our early teaching so broad as to develop an attitude of mind towards language in general; we must cultivate the *habit of observation*, that will later take note of variations in sound and vocabulary and probably result in speech-consciousness and act as a salutary check to the over-rapidity of speech-development on this continent. It may be that accelerated growth is not American, but 20th century.

This matter of speech is already one that commands widespread interest. The imitation of dialect is a recognized form of humour, and peculiarities of utterance play no small part in determining our first impressions of people.

We dislike our neighbour before we know him for a number of different reasons—because he takes a bath in the morning, because he does not take a bath in the morning, because he eats other food than we and that at unseasonable hours,

because we consider his clothes to be affected, or *vulgar*, and so on through the list of autocratic and democratic intolerances, major and minor; and prominent among them is the intolerance arising from difference of speech, whether it be the mutual distrust of two languages in the same country, or the minor discord produced by variant utterance of the same language. In fact, this influence is sometimes so strong that persons have been known to feel an almost physical pain on hearing a form of English that is unfamiliar to them and that they feel instinctively to be wrong, even though this instinct may be wholly erroneous. For instance, the clear vocalization and accurate consonants of educated southern English produce an unpleasant irritation in the mind of an uneducated American—using the word in the continental sense. I once heard a boy say to a colleague of mine in a Canadian school, "I hate the sound of your high-pressure English," and it was true, though perhaps among the things that might be more delicately expressed. Contrariwise, the cultivated American knows very well that this same clarity, and this accuracy are the canons of all speech, while it is certain vowel deformations and mannerisms that make what is known as "an English accent," a term highly annoying to the English themselves. None the less it exists.

It would be tempting to follow this path of digression but the theme is foreign to our discussion and I want merely to make the point that language is in itself a thing of universal interest and then examine how we can handle our elementary French teaching in a manner to introduce the broader aspect of language, and enquire what are the special qualifications of the teacher for that purpose.

Well, the first and simplest lessons will be directed to the general question. Most teachers are familiar with Jespersen's excellent sketch of an introductory language lesson. With no technicalities whatever he induces his pupils to examine for themselves the muscular movements involved in the production of simple sounds in their own language. Here is the first step, the knowledge that the vocal organs are an instrument that can be controlled as one controls the strings of a violin. This knowledge is directly applicable to the immediate work in

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French, and at the same time opens up a field of constant observation in pupils' daily speech. One does not of course expect to produce a class of phonetic prodigies—phonetic prigs they would be—but I think we might claim to be giving to the minority that will eventually think—a small minority according to the pessimists—the foundation of a scientific method. Obviously our later teaching can only touch lightly and occasionally on the question of native speech, but it can and must use it with some frequency.

Perhaps I am carrying coals to Newcastle in making these rather obvious suggestions, but my impression is that many teachers are afraid to use the time for what looks like digression. It is not digression. Regarded from the narrowest pedagogical viewpoint, such discussion is a valuable fixing exercise, while if we consider it apart from the teaching of French, an objective which our working conditions render very doubtful of attainment for half our pupils, I maintain that we are correlating the study of French and Latin, laying the foundations of observation habits, not for language alone, but for life in general. It is this observational side of language teaching that must be kept specially in view for the school-girl now that Ontario has admitted women to the ballot. In general, girls leaving school at 15 or 16 will have had little training in scientific method, and it becomes an even more important duty to us teachers to see that the women voters develop their capacity to put two and two together and examine for themselves the things that on the surface appear incomprehensible.

Feminine intuition does wonders, but without the habit of examination it is apt to confuse machinery with magic. If this is not so, why are husbands or plumbers so often called upon to replace tap-washers; while wives achieve far more complicated operations on sewing-machines?

To return to the "je ne sais quoi." What is the special qualification or capacity that will aid the teacher in establishing this inquisitive and acquistive habit of mind? Obviously, the teacher must possess it to a high degree himself, and further he must be trained to apply it scientifically to linguistic phenomena. I believe that such training is best acquired by three related studies: (i) a sound basis of Latin with a wide

vocabulary; (ii) a fundamental but not necessarily extensive knowledge of Old French phonology; and (iii) some training in practical phonetics.

Incidentally, this leads us to inquire whether Latin and French would not be a more practical grouping of Specialist subjects; they are allied by nature and each would aid the teacher's comprehension and command of the other. If Spanish ever becomes a High School subject, it seems probable that the surviving remnants of German teaching will be handed over to the English specialists.

We are now in a position to summarize the qualities that go to make up the "je ne sais quoi" of language teaching, the qualities that must be present if the teacher is to reap the full reward of his labours.

He must be a student of language, with an ear attuned to catch the delicate variations of sound in the speech he hears about him, and indeed in his own speech. It goes without saying that he should speak his native tongue without defects of utterance, nasalization for instance, and without glaring provincialisms of pronunciation. If he knows enough of English to distinguish the many archaisms and Americanisms with which current Canadian speech abounds, he has one more means of making the language lesson interesting and one more object on which his own faculty of observation may exercise itself. Since his profession is the teaching of French, it is his duty to read, write, speak, and think French at every possible opportunity, to make himself familiar with French achievements and French ways of thought; in short to create a French atmosphere in his own mind. If this be ever so little the case, he cannot fail to diffuse an influence in the class-room and his teaching will suggest that the affair in hand is more than the substitution of one set of symbols for another, as a mathematician might state the same equation indifferently in *a*, *b*, *c*, or *p*, *q*, *r*.

For our ideal teacher, language is a living and growing organism; he will, as it were, botanize in language, and will let his class see him do it in the hope that they will try to imitate his attitude. For him the text-book is a guide and summary, but not the sum-total of all that need be taught; and his

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class will come to look on the text-book in the same light. This is important. How often does one hear book-fed children dismiss with a prompt and mildly vexed, "We haven't had that," some simple French word that a moment's thought would enable them to guess, while others whose language sense has been awakened will recognize difficult words by comparison with their English vocabulary.

Finally, he will be a master of method, knowing the ways of Gouin and Berlitz and the Reform teachers and the grammar-methodists, and the translationites, and the anti-translationites, and the free-compositioners, and the oral-compositioners, understanding the theories of visual and phonetic instruction, and all the other theories and practices, esteeming and despising them all by turns or together, selecting here a little and there a little and combining the dose with that subtle and delicate something which is the "je ne sais quoi" of teaching.

R. KEITH HICKS.

THE NEUTRALIZATION OF STATES.

I. The Permanent Neutrality of Switzerland.

AMONG the questions of international politics and law, hardly any have been the subject of so much comment and controversy, in conversation, in the daily and periodical press, in war books and in actual disputes and negotiations between governments since the outbreak of the war, as those connected with neutrality, neutral rights, neutral states, violation of neutrality and similar phases of the broad question. Not only have wide differences appeared in the interpretations of special points by the various contesting nations, but the actual events have defied many of the generally accepted conventions of political theory. For the student of politics, history or international law, one point, hitherto somewhat neglected, puts itself in the forefront of interest, namely, the status of so-called neutralized countries and the question of neutralization for the future. In a time when we are forced to test political theories and conceptions to their foundations, little apology is necessary, especially for one who is himself native of a country usually regarded as having been neutralized, for scrutinizing a little more closely some of the accepted doctrines in this connection. It is our purpose to follow the doctrine of neutralization to its origin and to examine whether the principle in its practical application is consistent with the nature of the state and therefore capable of creating lasting results. The main questions in regard to this subject that put themselves to the writer were the following:

What is meant by neutralization and what relation has it to neutrality?

Can a distinct doctrine be derived from the actual, or supposed, instances of application of neutralization or were the applications individual and different in each case?

If such a doctrine exists in the minds of men, is it consistent with the actual facts in the development of states? Is it possible to neutralize a state, if we consider the purpose, the life and nature of the state?

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Can neutralization, other things remaining the same, assure protection to a state from war?

Can it further the realization of universal peace?

In the cases where neutralization has been applied, what was the avowed object, what the real motives and what the results?

The present paper will deal with the question of the permanent neutrality of Switzerland, which provided the historical starting point for most of the later developments; in a later article the other phases will be considered.

Neutrality and Neutralization.

Neutrality in its simple form may be defined as the non-participation of a state in a war of other states, implying for the neutral state an impartial conduct in all official actions towards both or all of the belligerents during the war.

Neutrality is as old as the history of mankind, but the exact meaning and the rights and duties it implied, changed through the epochs of history together with the meaning, functions and conceptions of the state itself, and will continue to change. Neutrality in the present sense has become a recognized principle of international law only in comparatively recent times, with the development of a clearer conception of states as separate political entities. To-day the rights and duties of neutrality are more or less clearly defined. The practices generally followed in wars of the last centuries have been codified, and in a number of international congresses and conferences special questions have been dealt with and the accepted rules embodied in international law. To enter into a discussion of the specific duties and rights of neutrality is beyond our purpose. We are less concerned with specific questions than with the spirit of neutrality and its relation to neutralization.

To make war or to remain neutral are essential and inalienable rights of autonomous and sovereign states. Any state may choose to be neutral in wars of others. Neutrality in the ordinary sense is always understood solely in relation to war. It is a condition existing for the duration of the war

only and the rights and duties involved begin and cease with the war.

Permanent neutrality is the perpetuation of an attitude of neutrality, non-interference and non-aggressiveness in general toward other states. While neutrality in the ordinary sense refers to a state of war between other states only, permanent neutrality consists in a policy consciously followed at all times. It also can arise only from within a state, be willed and determined by the state's own interests. It is not an internationally created status, and does not exist by virtue of international law, but as a self-chosen or self-developed characteristic of the permanently neutral state. The policy of permanent neutrality is a right of any autonomous state, but no international duties beyond those of neutrality in times of war attach to it. It is a fixed maxim in the general policy and conduct of a state, which, however, cannot be internationally decreed, for there can be no other authority over the essential elements of autonomy and sovereignty than the state itself. Permanent neutrality thus must always be viewed as a policy in relation not to specific wars, from the point of view of international law only, but in relation to the history and development of a state.

A state which exists and develops with a conscious policy of permanent neutrality naturally imposes special duties upon itself, as self-interest and self-preservation dictate. The policy expresses itself in all its internal and external actions. In times of war the state will observe the duties of neutrality with special zeal, and preserve towards all belligerents a conduct of frank and open impartiality. In time of peace it will avoid, as far as consistent with its sovereignty, any acts that might directly or indirectly provoke war with any of the neighboring states. It will refrain from any secret treaties or alliances, both offensive or defensive, except possibly an alliance unmistakably of the latter kind, in case of emergency, and then only for the time of the duration of the danger, or until an attack on its territory or independence has been averted. In its commercial intercourse, treaties and measures, other than those necessitated by the natural and economic conditions, that might extend special favors to any neighbor,

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will also be carefully avoided. In short, a state desiring to be permanently neutral will in war or peace make impartial conduct and sincere relations toward all other states its special endeavor. Autonomy, sovereignty and ultimately the independence of a state, however, can remain complete only so long as the policy of neutrality is the self-chosen action of the state itself, with no other master but its own interest and advancement.

As permanent neutrality is a condition arising from within a state, its maintenance and defence depend primarily on the state's own strength and determination. States do not usually assist or protect each other except for their own ultimate interests, and, as Bluntschli holds, "a neutral state which is powerless to defend its own neutrality loses by that fact its character as a neutral." A permanently neutral state will therefore maintain such military measures for the defence of its neutrality and existence as it deems necessary or as it is capable of providing.

Permanent neutrality can be tacitly pursued by a state or officially declared to the other states. When officially recognized by all other Powers, permanent neutrality may become a conscious factor in the relations among the family of states. The collective recognition is, however, in essence an understanding among the Powers themselves as to their neutral relation in regard to the neutral state, while the latter is concerned in such a recognition only indirectly.

Neutralization is a doctrine of international politics derived from neutrality and especially from permanent neutrality. In theory it is the imposition of a condition of permanent neutrality by international agreement upon small states, provinces of states, international waterways, rivers, canals, inland seas, etc. A condition of permanent neutrality is thus supposed to be created artificially by the Powers and the process has been called neutralization. The doctrine in varying senses has been applied in a number of international treaties, and has also found acceptance in writings on international politics and law. In the same way dependent or unoccupied territories or international canals and other waterways can be neutralized by the great Powers, and thus a class of states

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created that would be protected in their existence by the guarantee of the Powers, while their own right to make war would either be entirely denied or restricted to wars of clearly defensive nature and subject to the approval and intervention of the Powers.

The doctrine of neutralization of states as later applied to Switzerland found its premises chiefly in the permanent neutrality of that country, and its recognition and supposed guarantee by the Powers at the Congress of Vienna in 1814-15. It is necessary, therefore, to pass in review the history and origin of Swiss permanent neutrality.

History of Swiss Permanent Neutrality.

The principle of permanent neutrality in the policy of a state originated in Switzerland; in a general way we can say, it evolved with Switzerland. To understand the position of Switzerland as a permanently neutral state among the community of states of Europe, we must look back to its origin and history; for the history of Swiss permanent neutrality is intimately bound up with the history of the state itself. Although it was sometimes influenced and seemingly determined by accidental events, we cannot fail to discern a continuous development from the beginnings in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to the present day, in the formation of the Swiss democracy in its external as well as internal relations, and in the ideals and principles around which the formation of the state centres, and which are the guiding forces that give it life and being.

The origin of the state, now known as the Swiss Republic, lies back in the times of the disintegration of the Carolingian Empire, from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. With the dividing of the Empire, the strong central government disappeared, and political power was gradually absorbed by local authorities, chiefly minor lords, and to a lesser degree monasteries and cities. This process brought about the feudal organization of the greater part of Western Europe. Through private wars, conquests, grants by the emperors, gifts to monasteries, voluntary subjection for protection, etc., gradually

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all the free “Reichland” was drawn to the domain of the feudal lords.

At the same time a reverse movement had set in among the peasant communities in some of the Alpine valleys of the present Switzerland. To a greater degree than down in the plains, the spirit of the old freedom had here been kept alive. The division into secluded valleys, not easy of access and supervision, formed a natural obstacle to actual subjection, even when nominally they had fallen under the sovereignty of some feudal lord. The life among the lofty mountains, the hard work in the struggle with the wild forces of nature, a simple and scanty living, tended to breed a hardy race to which independence was a necessary requisite of life. It was when the nominal subjection was attempted to be made real by some of the feudal magnates, when oppressions and exactions were instituted, and the inhabitants found their ancient liberties more and more encroached upon, that the movement among these mountaineers to establish self-government and political independence began. The peasant communities first secretly, then openly, leagued themselves together for mutual support in shaking off the yoke and in defence of their liberties. The beginning of the Swiss confederation is usually dated from the conclusion of a solemn treaty between the countries around the Lake of Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden, in 1291, renewed in 1315. All three countries had received charters of liberty of the Empire in 1309 from Emperor Henry VIII, while some separate charters had existed before, for instance, one for Uri since 1231. The document of 1315 contains not only a solemn promise of mutual support against all enemies for ever, but also some general provisions for keeping internal order and for punishing disturbers of peace, and forms thus the germ of a federal constitution, which fully developed only in the last century. The first important political action of the Swiss League was the taking in of the then Austrian city of Lucerne, a step not made without strong opposition on the part of a minority of the citizens of the three original countries, as well as from a faction of the burghers of the city faithful to Austria. From now on the evolution of Switzerland is on the whole a gradual draw-

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ing together of more and more valley communities and free cities around the original league, a process which found its conclusion after the Napoleonic wars and the reconstruction of Europe in the treaties of Vienna and Paris. In detail the process is extremely complicated and can not here be followed even in outline. But a few characteristic points must be touched upon in passing, without which the spirit of Swiss history cannot be understood.

In the first place must be noted the strong individuality and sense of autonomy of the different cantons, as the members of the league came later to be called. Each one had its own history and origin, its own particular institutions and traditions. Its people often had their peculiar dialect or language, temperament and aspirations. After the league of the first three cantons, most of the members were joined by special treaties under special conditions and in individual terms, so that the status of individual members in the league as well as towards the outside Powers was often quite different from others. Some went through various stages of friendship and alliances with individual cantons before becoming full members themselves. This brought with it difficulties and complications that led to many internal strifes and dissensions, sometimes rising to bloody struggles, almost from the beginning. The inclusion of Zurich in 1351, Glarus and Zug in 1352, and Berne in 1353 completed the league of the "eight original cantons." The formation of a solid federal state was at this time prevented chiefly by difficulties arising out of the different policies of the country and the city cantons. A constitution to suit the different claims proved impossible. The league, however, was knitted together by the first real test of strength in the battle of Sempach, on the 9th of July, 1386. With much reason the real establishment of independence and the creation of the consciousness of a nascent state can be traced to this event. Here for the first time the fighters of the league had to encounter a trained and formidable army in the open field. As Hilty says, "well may the victors have returned from the battlefield with exalted satisfaction and the augury that a Free State had been founded, which no power but only internal decay would be able to remove from the stage

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of the world's history." With the accession of Appenzell in 1513 the confederation of the thirteen old cantons was completed and these formed the basis of the confederation down to the Revolution, although many other territories were joined by treaties, friendships and conquests.

Significant for the early times of the Swiss confederation is the formation and existence of many other leagues and free cities, some of which were gradually joined to the Swiss league, but in some cases only after long separate existence. The league of the valleys of Grison existed simultaneously with the Swiss league for several centuries, and although usually allied with the latter, became full members of the confederation only in 1815. The city of Geneva was after 1526 almost continuously allied with Berne and Frybourg, later with Zurich and the whole confederation, but reached its political goal only in 1815 when it became definitely a canton of Switzerland. Earlier attempts to be admitted failed because of the opposition of the Catholic cantons and of some cantons which believed the league would be endangered by the inclusion of more powerful cities. None the less, Geneva considered itself practically a member of the confederation, and produced in J. J. Rousseau the greatest theorist of pure democracy in the Swiss sense. By special treaties Neuchatel, Valais and other parts entered into close relation with members of the Swiss league, while Vaud and Aargau were conquered by Berne and remained under its sovereignty till 1789. In the fourteenth century the cities of Berne, Zurich, Solothurn, Zug were at the time of their joining the Swiss league also members of the league of German cities with some fifty odd members, almost the beginning of a confederation extending far over German lands. The city of Mühlhausen entered into "eternal friendship" with the Swiss confederation in 1468 and regularly sent her delegates to the yearly Diets till the acquisition of Alsace by France in the time of Louis XIV.

Many other treaty and friendship relations existed, for longer or shorter periods, with outside Powers, with the Pope, with France, Venice, Austria, the Dukes of Savoy and others. While it was out of such extremely complicated relations and connections that the Swiss confederation in its present form

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finally crystallized, on the other hand they were the source of many internal dissensions and almost continual strife. During the wars of religion, separate alliances were concluded by the Protestant and Catholic factions with Switzerland, which thus became involved in the general European struggle.

Thus, then, the birth and early formation of the Swiss confederation falls in a time when the political system of Europe was in a state of transition. To the political sagacity of the men of 1291 and 1315 and the courage of 1386, Switzerland chiefly owes its thanks for having chosen the only right moment to establish their freedom and independence before another power had put itself in the place of the waning imperial authority. Out of the many attempts to form free leagues, Switzerland is the only one that survived not only the feudal period, but also the period of formation of strong national states in the 19th century. The individuality of the different elements, the difference in traditions, in aims and temperament between cities and country communities, the religious cleavage, entangling combinations and treaty relations and similar factors presented such difficulties for the formation of a unified state, that it took centuries to arrive at this political goal. Not so much mutual affection it was that brought the elements together, as common, instinctive political aims, a groping toward autonomy and independence. This very instinct, while often disuniting the Swiss, was on the other hand the ideal that united them and kept through all vicissitudes the feeling of a common destiny alive.

The framers of the first leagues, in 1291 and 1315, were still faithful to the Empire. It was against the minor authorities, especially the growing power of the Habsburgs, then dukes of Austria, that the alliance was first directed. With bold daring, however, they declared and mutually promised one another not to recognize any imperial bailiff, except one chosen from among themselves. With growing self-consciousness and the disorganization of the imperial power, the league became gradually more independent. The final separation came after the Swabian war in 1499 and it was practically recognized, although not in explicit terms, in the Peace of Basel of September 2, 1499. From then on Switzerland sailed

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its own vessel, not without many deviations and narrowly escaping many a reef, but on the whole led by the same star—freedom and independence,—and towards the same goal—the realization of that freedom and independence in a political association, a state adjusted to modern civilization and based on democracy within and tolerance and neutrality towards the world without.

The above remarks are meant to give a summary impression of the causes and forces that brought the Swiss state into being, and which are its *raisons d'être* at the present day. We have now to trace more especially the development of the policy of permanent neutrality.

The object in the forming of the first leagues was to establish their own freedom and independence. The first heroic struggles were defensive only. After the initial successes on the battlefields, the state temporarily fell away from its true course. The Swiss soon became known as brave warriors and were eagerly sought and highly paid by the war leaders and princes of Europe as mercenaries. Love of adventure and alluring gold soon combined to draw yearly thousands of Swiss abroad to fight under foreign banners. In addition the Swiss, becoming conscious of their own power, began to take a hand in the game themselves and to go out for conquest on their own account. For this also the unsettled state of Europe offered strong temptations; some countries asked their aid and protection, as, for instance, the city and principality of Bellinzona, a relation perpetuated in the inclusion of the present Italian-speaking canton of Ticino in the Swiss confederation. A period of glorious external development begins. The victorious struggles against Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy in 1467-77, the victories against the Emperor and the South German princes in the Swabian war in 1499, and the first successful expeditions against the Kings of France across the Alps into the plain of the Po, brought the Swiss into the forefront of political power on the continent. The zenith of this external development was reached in the beginning of the sixteenth century when in the treaty of Dijon (Sept. 13, 1513) the King of France was forced by the Swiss "to give back to the Holy Father, the Pope, all

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his churches, cities, castles, countries and men; to leave undis-
turbed to the Imperial Majesty and to the House of Austria
the Duchy of Burgundy and other countries that border on
France." The Swiss at that time retained for themselves the
Duchy of Milan, the principalities of Aosta and Cremona and
other lesser territories. The Franche-Comté (the present
French departments of Doubs, Jura and Haute Saone) after
the Burgundian war 1467-77 also was at their disposal, and
the population expressed the wish to be joined to Switzerland;
the province, however, was sold to the King of France for
150,000 Rhenish gulden and some private bribes to individual
governments. Many of the important transactions of con-
tinental Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth century were
carried out under the dominant influence of the Swiss.

But as rapid as the rise to this external power was the
fall from it. The reversion of fortune began in the catastro-
phe of Marignano, on Sept. 13-14, 1515, where in a two days' battle
with the troops of the French king the Swiss for the
first time, after tremendous exertion, were, if not definitely
defeated, at least turned back in their advance. After this
event the Swiss began to withdraw from Lombardy, and the
short though glorious Swiss career of conquest is practically
ended. The catastrophe of Marignano itself was chiefly the
result of growing internal disruption and demoralization, the
inevitable sequel of a course contrary to the object of the
original formation of the federation. The practices of the gov-
ernments of the cantons in allowing recruiting or even engag-
ing to furnish mercenaries regularly for yearly "pensions"
soon bore their evil fruits. The work at home was neglected;
much of the best young blood was drawn to foreign wars; re-
turned soldiers brought with them not only booty and loot,
but also habits of profligacy and a distaste for the hard work
in home valleys. Differences in policy and aims between the
different cantons as to foreign relations, and difficulties as to
the treatment, division and administration of conquered terri-
tory loosened the already weak bond uniting the elements of
the league and increased factional disputes. Ever since the
beginning, these dangerous results of participation in foreign
wars had been recognized by many patriotic citizens, and pro-

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posals to forbid the taking of pensions and the engaging for mercenary service appeared as early as 1489. The Burgundian wars were carried on chiefly by the Bernese, under strong protests from a section among the older members of the league. A proclamation, prohibiting pensions and threatening with the death penalty any recruiters of mercenaries, was issued on July 14, 1503. Warnings of this kind were also especially uttered by Ulrich Zwingli, the Swiss reformer, who as a chaplain accompanied one of the Italian campaigns and clearly saw the perils toward which the country was drifting. His preaching aimed first at a political and moral reformation, before the issue became a religious one. But apparently nothing could stem the tide of the time. After Marignano the Swiss ceased to carry on actual warfare in their own name. The mercenary habit, however, remained in vogue down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The early attempts at prohibiting it proved without effect, as with the lack of any central government and the consequent cleavages concerted action was not possible. The yearly payments to some of the Governments became a regular source of income and some of the treaties in these matters almost part of the constitutions.

For all the glory that Swiss armies and Swiss mercenaries won, their record holds some of the darkest pages of Swiss history. It can safely be held that this policy retarded the development of the Swiss state for centuries. It may be idle to condemn the course that history has taken. But it can be said that not those who went out for conquest and flocked in thousands to the banners of foreign lords were the makers of Switzerland, but those who fought for the freedom and independence of the country and worked out its destiny at home by settling in the course of time the internal difficulties, for which also many times the sword had to be called on to decide. The result of the work of the latter is the present independent democratic Swiss Republic, while of the former nothing remains but a few laurels and thousands of forgotten graves in foreign lands. Some would maintain that this external expansion was necessary for the future existence of Switzerland. This, however, can with good reason be questioned. "Ifs" are as futile in history as to say 'if the St. Lawrence

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were flowing across the Rocky Mountains.' Yet it may be not entirely idle to-day to conjecture what might have happened, had the league proceeded on its original road of voluntarily absorbing the free communities, at most aiding such as desired to join the Swiss to free themselves from existing fetters, instead of becoming for a time themselves oppressors of conquered territories. It is not improbable that Switzerland would to-day be considerably larger in extent; it would perhaps have accomplishd its original task of uniting all the German lands from the Alps to the Baltic into a democratic confederation. The Providence of history, however, changed the latter plan to the forming of a Free State in the centre of Europe at the junction of the three nations, German, French and Italian, a task, though humble, for that reason not less great.

External wars, then, ended in the first half of the sixteenth century. The wars with Austria were practically ended after the battle of Sempach in 1386, and the independence definitely established in a treaty in 1474 by which all territory originally Austrian joined to or conquered by the Swiss was recognized as belonging to the confederation. The gradual separation from the Empire ended the participation in the wars of that organism. Through the expeditions into the plains of the Po and through the Burgundian wars, Switzerland came into close contact with France. By the treaty of November 25, 1516, and the "Alliance tractat" of 1521, which, periodically renewed, lasted with some modifications in 1798 and 1803 down to 1813, the relations with France were practically settled—so settled, however, that from a state of complete equality, Switzerland, through the mercenary and pension system, lost its position gradually, and was easily reduced to vassalage in the time of Napoleon. Treaties were also concluded with the Pope, with the Dukes of Savoy and others. Thus Switzerland became bound to all sides by treaties and alliances, and these conditions primarily led to a gradual awakening of the policy of neutrality. At this early stage it meant merely the non-interference in external disputes, and whenever there was any protectorate involved in the treaties, Switzerland was usually the protecting party. Stipulations

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regarding neutrality were contained in many of the early treaties with Austria, France and Savoy, Switzerland usually engaging not to allow troops of the other parties to pass over her territories in case of war. One of the best authorities on Swiss history, Professor Oechsli of Zurich, sees in these circumstances, namely, the gradual political separation from the German Empire, to which the Swiss were still attached by bonds of former union and common nationality, and the closer interest and friendship with France, the real origin of Swiss neutrality. Internal troubles, soon intensified by the religious cleavage, which divided Switzerland into two bitterly opposed factions for nearly two centuries, made participation in foreign wars practically impossible in any case, as any intervention in foreign conflicts by one or the other of the factions always brought with it the danger of civil strife or dissolution. It is one of the curious and notable features in early Swiss history, that in spite of the almost chronic internal difficulties, rising several times to bloody conflicts, a more or less united stand could be maintained towards the outside Powers. The conscious or unconscious feeling of a common political body and a common destiny through all the vicissitudes still animated all.

The first official declaration of neutrality dates from 1546, in the time of the Senalcaldian war. A period of serious trial for the further existence of Switzerland was the Thirty Years' War, and it was the policy of neutrality alone which saved it from being drawn into this most tragic struggle. The common Diets of the Confederation were discontinued at different times and separate alliances were formed between the Protestant and Catholic factions and the Powers representing the respective causes. To the Protestants, who, since their defeat in the Kappeler war in 1531, when Zwingli himself fell, had been deprived of the lead in the confederation, the temptation, especially at the appearance of Gustavus Adolphus, to make common cause with the German Protestants must have been strong. There were indeed influential voices in Zurich who spoke of neutrality as "miserable cowardice." The danger was intensified by frequent violations of neutral Swiss territory, and the passing of foreign troops over outlying portions

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—although partly based on contractual rights—caused ever fresh irritation within the country. In 1633 the Swedish Field Marshal, Horn, in descending upon Constance, violated Swiss neutrality, probably with the aid of some Protestant statesman in Zürich. A serious crisis followed, armed forces of five Catholic cantons marched into the Thurgau, to investigate the reasons why the violation had not been opposed. The commandant of the Landsturm guarding the frontiers was arrested, and a lengthy trial followed, until in the spring of 1634 a new violation occurred—this time by Imperial troops. The factions threatened open war, and negotiations with foreign Powers were already going on. Only the warnings and intervention of the less directly concerned cantons of Basel, Schaffhausen and Luzern prevented the outbreak of a conflict, which would have involved Switzerland in the Thirty Years' War and probably ended the confederation for ever. The result of the danger was, however, a strengthening of the neutral policy. An order of the Diet of 1638 forbade the toleration of the marching of foreign troops over Swiss territory. The Diet of 1647 enacted the so-called "Defensional" by which an effective protection of the frontiers was to be assured by the organization of an army of 36,000 men. This determined step to put an end to the violations of Swiss territory established earnestly and definitely the principle of "armed neutrality."

What the effects of Swiss neutrality during the Thirty Years' War were may be judged from the description of the adventurous pilgrim Simplicimus, travelling from devastated Germany through Switzerland. He writes as follows: "The country appeared to me, compared with other German lands, as if I had been in Brazil or China. There I saw the people go about and deal in peace, the stables were filled with cattle, in the farm yards plenty of hens, geese and ducks strutted about, the roads were full of men making merry. There was no fear at all of any enemy, no dread of plunder, no anxiety of losing one's goods, life or limbs. Each one lived secure under his vine and fig tree, indeed, compared with other German lands, in sheer abundance and delight; so that I held this land for an earthly Paradise, although it appeared to be rough

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enough by nature. The result of it was, that on my whole way I did nothing but gaze from one side to the other." (Translated from Dürer: *Kriegs- betrachtungen*).

Such things then could well serve as a warning to the Swiss. The result of the independent stand taken by Switzerland throughout the Thirty Years' War was that in the treaty of Westphalia in 1648, the independence of the Swiss confederation and its neutrality were formally recognized by the European Powers. From now on the policy thus far dictated by the force of circumstances appears more and more as a conscious and fixed maxim of the state. The last serious violation of Swiss neutrality before the revolutionary period occurred in 1709, during the war of the Spanish Succession, when the Imperial commander, Count Mercy, marched across Basel territory in an attack on France. Even this time it happened with the aid of some individual Swiss and the result was, as in 1633, a violent internal crisis, as the fear naturally arose that the French king would no longer recognize the neutrality. In general, however, the Diet as well as the governments of the cantons held ever more strictly to the observance of neutrality. The frontiers were guarded with growing vigilance. Further, the policy was no longer seriously questioned by foreign Powers, which begin to join in the opinion that neutrality formed the "fundament of the Swiss Republic" and the "central pillar of her state of peace." On one occasion, in 1689-90, the Swiss troops guarding the frontier were paid by both belligerent parties, France and the Emperor. With few exceptions, transgressions over Swiss territory ceased, foreign commanders being aware of the strong opposition they would meet and of the risk of frustrating their object of getting at the enemy through neutral territory. Treaty engagements which might entangle Switzerland in European conflicts were ever more carefully avoided. The existing treaties, however, continued more or less in force, especially those with France. In the last renewal of the treaty with the French Kings, the one with Louis XVI in 1777, Article 6, reads as follows: "And as the present alliance, concluded for defence alone, must not be detrimental in the least to the neutrality of the contracting parties, nor take anything from them, the whole Confederation

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tion declares most emphatically, that it is determined to observe and enforce it in all cases and against all Powers without discrimination." The contracts for mercenaries, however, also continued parallel with the treaties, and a Swiss mercenary contingent of six to ten thousand men or more was regularly in the service of the French King and the recruiting thereof was officially sanctioned by the Swiss governments and pensions received in return. According to the conceptions of the time, however, the fulfilment of contractual duties concluded before and without anticipation of a war constituted no breach of neutrality. De Vattel (1714-1767) in his "Droits des gens," says: "Let us see in what consists the impartiality which a neutral people ought to preserve. It relates exclusively to the war and comprises two things: (1) not to give aid when not so obliged; not to furnish without obligation either troops, arms, ammunition or anything which is of direct service for the war," and (2) "when a sovereign furnishes the moderate aid which he owes by virtue of an old defensive alliance, he does not associate himself with the war; he can therefore acquit himself of this debt and observe an exact neutrality in other respects. The examples of this are frequent in Europe." (Westlake, International Law, Part II, page 202.) If such things were allowed, which would be inconsistent with neutrality in its present form, it was due less to the lack of determination, than to the imperfect development of the rules of neutrality. The mercenary habit, and the treaties in this regard, were now of old standing, firmly rooted in the institutions and whole political structure; the yearly pensions, amounting at the end of the seventeenth century to as much as one and a half million francs, came to be regarded as an indispensable part of the revenue. These conditions could not disappear at once. The "transgressions" on the part of foreign princes of some of the contracts by using Swiss contingents against other states, friendly to Switzerland, caused frequent disputes and endangered the peace of the country at times. Nevertheless, the policy of neutrality was ever more firmly adhered to, and kept Switzerland out of all the wars of the eighteenth century, until with the outbreak of the French Revolution a new current crossed the political his-

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tory of Europe, which also profoundly influenced the course of events in Switzerland.

Even during the first international conflict arising out of the French Revolution, the wars of the first coalition, 1792-1797, Switzerland officially maintained and observed its neutrality, in spite of the decidedly anti-revolutionary sympathies of the aristocratic governments. At this time, however, revolution was rife also in Switzerland. In most cantons, in the course of the preceding two centuries, the governmental functions and positions had been gradually monopolized by certain few privileged families forming a kind of patriciate or aristocracy. The unsuccessful rising of the peasants in 1653, which was much more of a political than social nature, rather strengthened for a time the power of the aristocracies, and the one time political rights were still more rigidly suppressed. Although the governments ruled in general wisely and with a benevolent paternalism, and while few of the conditions that led to the French Revolution existed in Switzerland, the cries of liberty, equality and fraternity found ready response from large sections of the discontented population, among whom the traditions of the old time freedom and rights were still alive. In the face of the general distrust towards the governments and the disunion among the different cantons, an effective defence was impossible, although at the last hour the invading armies of France were heroically opposed. The invasion of Switzerland by the French in 1789 brought about the fall of the old Confederation and ended in fact, if not formally, the independence of Switzerland for a time. Even before the conquest, Swiss revolutionists and sympathizers with the principles of the French Republic, under the leadership of Peter Ochs from Basel, had framed a new constitution for Switzerland with the collaboration of leaders of the Directory at Paris, in which the guiding will of Napoleon was already prevalent. Modelled after the French Republic, Switzerland was constituted with the proclamation of April 12, 1798, into the "Helvetic Republic." Not only was this constitution arbitrarily imposed upon the country by Napoleon, but in addition a military capitulation, according to which Switzerland had to keep 12,000 men in the French armies,

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was forced upon it. On August 19, 1798, further, a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance between the two Republics was concluded. Of the actions of an independent sovereign state on the part of Switzerland there can be no question; the agreements were dictated by the omnipotent ruler to a vassal state. Naturally also, the maintenance of the policy of neutrality was rendered impossible under such circumstances. Neither was this close alliance with France in accordance with the wish of the Swiss people. In the summer of 1799 Maurice Glayre was sent to Paris as delegate, to effect a repudiation of the alliance and a recognition of neutrality, but without result. In 1800 Napoleon recognized its neutrality again, *pro forma*, but only to make Switzerland subservient to his plans more than ever. The allied Powers naturally did not recognize such neutrality, nor was Switzerland able to defend it, and the wars of the second coalition, from 1799 to 1802, were fought for the most part on Swiss soil.

Switzerland remained under the dictatorial hand of Napoleon till his system began to crumble in 1813. The Helvetic constitution was far from satisfying the Swiss people as well as from restoring internal order. Based on philosophic fancies, in disregard of the historical development, it did away with the original cantons, and created a military state divided artificially into departments. Its merit was that it did away with all privileges, established complete political equality for all citizens, and prepared the way for a later closer federation. For such, however, Switzerland, with the traditional and jealously defended autonomy of the individual cantons, was at this time not yet ready. The resulting troubles and continuous factional strife again gave Napoleon a pretext for renewed intervention in her internal affairs. Although the Mediation Constitution of February 19, 1803, restored the cantons, with most of the old frontiers, it brought Switzerland still more under the "Mediator's" arbitrary power. In a state of torpor Switzerland had to look on while Geneva was entirely separated from the confederation and made into a French department, and while Neuchatel, the Valais and other minor portions were torn away from it, and added to France.

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When the Napoleonic system began to totter, the Swiss Diet again attempted to declare its neutrality toward the allied Powers in their campaign against the French Emperor. But the country was not in a position to defend its neutrality by force of arms. During the Napoleonic campaigns not only had much of the soldier blood been drained out of Switzerland, but Napoleon had also hindered any independent preparation or maintenance of means of defence. This together with the fanaticism of the reactionary factions of Berne, who hoped to have their aristocratic privileges restored in their former subject territories of Vaud and Aargau, facilitated the plan of the Allies to strike at France through Switzerland. When in November and December, 1813, after the battle of Leipzig, the troops of the allied armies approached Switzerland, a contingent of about 12,000 men was dispatched to defend the frontiers, while at the same time, however, recruiting for Napoleon's decimated Swiss regiments went on. The Allied Powers did not respect the neutrality and the Swiss contingent, in face of the overwhelming superiority of the allied armies, turned back and no shot was fired to oppose the invasion. At three points, from Basel to Schaffhausen, an army of about 150,000 entered Switzerland and chased the French out of Biel, Neuchatel, Geneva and the Valais. Part of the allied troops remained in Switzerland and the crossing of troops continued until the Congress of Vienna.

It would be idle to blame the allied Powers for not hesitating to violate Swiss territory under the circumstances in order to achieve their object and to settle in their interest the general European situation. This is the pitiless course of history and the moral of war. On the other hand, it shows, again, how useless any pretence of neutrality is, if it cannot be defended by force of arms and by the self-willed determination of a united people. The ignominious stand taken by the Swiss troops, who folded their arms and went home, gives the sad evidence of the low level to which the political consciousness and self-respect of Switzerland had for the moment been reduced by the confusing forces of the time, the long alliance with France ending in practical vassalage, the struggle of the democratic ideal, revived by the revolution, with aris-

tocracy, the particularist tendencies and religious cleavage, and now by the many conflicting influences from without. The democratic ideal, without which there is no reason for the existence of Switzerland, had not yet found the way to adjust itself to new conditions. The future goal was dimmed before the eyes of many of the citizens. United, determined action was therefore impossible. It might have been folly for the small and poorly equipped Swiss contingent to set itself against the more than ten times superior forces of the Powers, with scarcely any hope of success. Yet in the interest of the future life of the state and its independence and respect it should, and at any other time no doubt would have been done. At the time, few surveyed the whole complicated situation. Pictet de Rochemont, the Swiss delegate at the congress of Vienna and Paris, one of the greatest and most far-seeing men of the period, in a brochure written in 1820 makes clear his views, that the only correct course for Switzerland would have been a determined stand against the allied armies regardless of the sacrifice necessary and of the consequences, and also, that her only guarantee for future independence lay in strict adherence to a policy of neutrality supported by self-help. He writes:

“Nous n'hésitons point à prononcer qu'il fallait en cette occasion (1813) verser le sang des Suisses, le prodiguer même, s'il eût fallu, pour forcer les Alliés à se détourner, par la honte d'écraser sans provocation de faibles peuplades, qui se gardaient chez-elles et de souiller dès le premier pas la cause juste . . . Le passage, dit-on, à été surpris; ce n'est point assez, il fallait qu'il fut conquis. Alors cette infraction n'eût point entamé la Suisse; son territoire violé restait inviolable, car le droit demeurait intègre, le prestige, l'heureux prestige de neutralité se rétablissait, la vaillance avait cédé au nombre et cet abus de la force ne laissait sur les vaincus que d'honorables souvenirs.”

Speaking of the future conduct of Switzerland in similar cases, he says:

“ . . . Soit que la force se montre insolente, soit qu'elle prenne un language astucieux, il faut lui opposer la force, car le salut de la Suisse est là, et il n'est que là. . . . Quel intérêt pourrait encore meriter la Suisse dans les négociations qui succéderaient à une guerre, dans laquelle ce pays, neutre par décret européen aurait servi de grande route ou de champs de bataille aux rivaux qu'il devait séparer? . . . L'hon-

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neur de la lutte resterait tout entier à la Suisse et son inviolabilité serait consacrée pour des siècles."

Of such decided action distracted Switzerland in 1813 was incapable. The breach of neutrality by the allied Powers caused, however, a deep agitation throughout the country. On December 20, 1813, the Powers issued a declaration at Lörrach, in which they tried to justify marching through Switzerland. This declaration also contained the promise to "restore the old real neutrality instead of the present one in Napoleon's interest" as soon as the territories torn away from Switzerland by France would be reunited to her. Unable to take an independent stand, Switzerland had to acquiesce in exchanging the vassalage to France for an inglorious subservience to the plans of the Allies.

In the first peace treaty of Paris, of May 30, 1814, there was included a declaration in favor of the independence of Switzerland, in the sense that for the French protectorate there should be substituted a joint protectorate by all the Powers. In fact, during the time from December, 1813, to August, 1815, the country was practically under the governorship of the ambassadors of the Powers residing in Switzerland. Never in its whole political history did Switzerland pass through a more humiliating period than this. Yet out of all the confusion there rose, on the ruins of the old outlived confederation, the first foundations of a new confederate state, better adjusted to modern conditions and requirements. At the Congress of the Powers in Vienna the question of Switzerland was considered in detail. The federal Diet was represented by a delegation at the congress and most of the cantons sent their own more or less official representatives. After much deliberation a declaration was agreed upon—in substance practically the same as the one finally issued on November 20, 1815—and on March 20, 1815, a note was offered the Swiss Diet declaring that "after the accession of the Swiss Diet to the stipulations contained in the present transaction, an act shall be issued, regarding the recognition and the guarantee on the part of all the Powers, of the perpetual neutrality of Switzerland in its new frontiers, which

act should complete the dispositions of the treaty of Paris of May 30, 1814." The Swiss Diet, in the name of the Swiss confederation, acceded to the declaration in a note to the congress of May 27, 1815, promising that the stipulations should be faithfully and religiously observed, and expressing its gratitude towards the High Powers for the restoration of the ancient frontiers, uniting three new cantons to the confederation "and for promising solemnly to acknowledge and guarantee the Perpetual Neutrality of the Helvetic Body as being necessary to the general interests of Europe." The ratification of the declaration by the Powers should have followed immediately upon this accession. But negotiations, somewhat delayed by disputes over frontiers, were now unexpectedly interrupted by the return of Napoleon from Elba to Paris. The Powers again found it necessary to use Switzerland for their purposes, and to postpone the declaration. Austrian troops were on the point of entering Swiss territory regardless of any claim of the country to neutrality and independence. Only the fact that among statesmen of the allied Powers there was one warm friend of Switzerland, Czar Alexander I, whom his educator and life-long friend, the Swiss, Cesar La-harpe, had imbued with a love for Switzerland and with democratic and liberal ideas, prevented a forced occupation and made it possible that a formal "military convention" was concluded on May 20, 1815, according to which the allied Powers should be authorized "dans le cas d'urgence," and with the authorization of the Diet, to a "passage momentane" in return for an indemnity; but that beyond this they should not erect any hospitals and "dépôts onereux" in Switzerland. At the same time the Allied Powers sent a military plenipotentiary into Switzerland, Major-General von Steigentesch, whose duty was, to direct the espionage against France and to draw Switzerland into alliance of the Powers, without granting her the advantages of a formal inclusion. A few samples from this gentleman's correspondence, taken from Hilty, will best illustrate how Switzerland was intended to be used for the Allies' purposes as long as deemed necessary and then set aside:

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"Murten, May 4.—Of neutrality there can at this moment be no more talk. The word itself is avoided in official proclamations; in these they speak only of defending their frontiers against France. . . .

May 6.—I think that it is urgently necessary to correct the public opinions in the newspapers and to influence the judgment of the masses. The papers, which are generally insignificant, become at this time and because of the position in which the country is, of importance and of Europe-wide circulation. The *Gazette of Lausanne*, which appears in French, is one of the few that are widely read in France; and the spirit is anything but good.

"I hope and wish that no distinct demands regarding the three military roads have yet been made in Zurich, which perhaps would imperil all actual measures against France. Switzerland must first be reduced to a condition not to be able to refuse anything to the allies."

"Zurich, May 23.—As the ratification of the last convention has not yet taken place and as I wish very much first to get the orders of your Serene Highness regarding the last proposal about provisioning, I have not yet transmitted to the Diet the note regarding the transit of the troops, but it will be handed in in any case in two days. My proposal to the Diet will contain more than the demands of Your Serene Highness; it will, without expressing it, explicitly assure the use of all Swiss troops, and I shall in my demands follow only step by step the agreed convention and use every expression which in it speaks to our advantage.

"Zurich, May 23.—I cannot recommend too strongly to Your Serene Highness to leave in Geneva and Basel a small garrison under the pretext of a depot, as both cities declare themselves loudly for neutrality and protest against the other decisions of the Diet.

"Zurich, July 12.—I consider, therefore, this war as concluded and convinced that in a few days no more shots will be fired along the whole line. Therefore do I now not push the co-operation of the Swiss troops, for the day of the general settlement and indemnisation must soon arrive; the Swiss in this case would enter into the line of the warring Powers and on that day raise their voice, which in the present condition we do not concede to them."

The following passages, which to-day can be taken as a bit of humor, show with what contempt towards the Swiss people the exploitation was carried on:

"Two notes of the Diet complain, that Lieutenant-Colonel Ott had not yet been able to come to an understanding regarding the price of provisioning, and about the presumption of His Imperial Majesty the Archduke Maximilian, in marching through Schaffhausen without asking for a permit from the Diet. I have the honour to add to Your Serene Highness only my somewhat severe answer. It is time to cease strengthening these people in the belief of their importance. From the Father-

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land of the Knout, here the ideas (*Gesetze*) of equality and rights of man have been put into circulation, so that each one who here speaks or yells in the name of five or six hundred peasants, thinks himself the Cato of his cow pasture.

"What they still use me for here is to chase all foreign cattle from their frontiers, and this is the third note which I have received because some foreign oxen have seen at Schaffhausen and Laufenburg, owing to the necessities of the army, and because Switzerland does not want to give shelter to these foreigners on their transit."

Such were the humiliating conditions in which Switzerland found itself during this last actual violation of its territory. Apart from the occupation of the frontiers, in which the districts of Geneva, Neuchatel and Valais and the present Perrentruy were included, little actual fighting took place this time on Swiss soil. Swiss troops took little part in the fighting, with the exception of a force of about 4,600 men, which was sent to occupy the adjoining district of Alsace, and which did the principal work in the siege and capture of the fortress of Huningen near Basel. This fortress, although promised by the Allies to be joined to Switzerland as a protection of the northwestern frontier, was later not conceded.

In the meantime Switzerland labored continuously at the reorganization of the confederation. The attempts to reconstruct the country on the basis of a military state had proven failures. The change was too sudden; the jealously cherished cantonal autonomy and historical independence and differences were still too strong, and these cleavages were widened by the revival of reactionary tendencies in Europe. On August 7, 1815, a constitution was finally accepted. By this, the twenty-two cantons formed again a loose confederation of autonomous states, each with its own constitution and with only the Diet as federal bond. Except for the recognition of the equality and liberality of all classes and territories, and more definite provisions for a federal army, it was practically a return to pre-revolutionary conditions. While for the moment nearly all the democratic aims of the revolution seemed lost, this constitution gave Switzerland again definite political form in its external relations; it linked up the future with the past and thus, understood by all sections of the peo-

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ple, it provided a frame under which a natural development proceeding from within could work itself out. Nor was the reaction more than temporary and official. As soon as Switzerland was on her own feet again the real internal reconstruction began. The fruits of the revolution proved to be still a living force in the population. The returned aristocracies never regained their former power and their hold was shortlived; one by one they were turned out to make room for a democratic government. With the reawakening of a new national conscience, the need of a stronger national union was more and more pressingly felt and the movement in this direction gained constantly in favor, until with the Sonderbund war, a short civil war in 1847, the last obstacles of sectionalism were removed to make possible the acceptance in 1848 of a constitution which changed the loose federation into a strong federal union giving form and expression to actual needs and facts. While not ignoring the historical past, the traditional local autonomy and particularity, this constitution provided the means of directing by a federal government the common interests and questions, and consolidating the state in its foreign relations. Above all, it gave the democracy a form adjusted to modern conditions and capable of fulfilling the requirements of a modern state.

After this short excursion into domestic events, let us return to the international situation of Switzerland in 1815. When, after the final fall of Napoleon, the congress of the Powers met again, this time in Paris, the declaration regarding the neutrality of Switzerland took final and official form in the act of November 20, 1815. The proclamation was in substance the same as the one presented to the Swiss Diet on March 20, 1815, with only slight changes in the text. A preliminary passage tries to excuse the postponement of the declaration after the accession of the Swiss Diet to the terms of the Powers on May 27, and the suspension of the neutrality till after the end of the war. With a similar twist of conscience another section declares "that no conclusion unfavorable to the rights of Switzerland relatively to the neutrality and inviolability of her territory can or must be drawn from the events, that have brought about the passage of the allied

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troops over part of the Helvetic soil . . ." and, further, the Powers recognize in rather flattering terms, that Switzerland "in these trying circumstances has shown that she knows how to make sacrifices for the general good and in the support of a cause which all Powers of Europe have defended."

Following is the text of the document as issued by the Congress:—

"Acte, portant reconnaissance et garantie de la Neutralité perpetuelle de la Suisse et de l'inviolabilité de son territoire

Du 20 Novembre, 1815.

"L'accession de la Suisse à la declaration donnée à Vienne le vingt mars, mil huit centquinze, par les Puissance signatoires au traité de Paris, ayant été dûment notifiée aux ministres des Courts imperiales et royales, par l'acte de la Diète helvétique du vingt sept mai suivant, rien ne s'opposait à ce que l'acte de la reconnaissance et de la garantie de la neutralité perpetuelle de la Suisse dans ses nouvelles frontières, fut fait conformément à la déclaration susdite. Mais les Puissances out jugé convenable de suspendre, jusqu'à ce jour, la signature de cet acte, à cause des changements que les événements de la guerre, et les arrangements qui devaient en être la suite, pouvaient apporter aux limites de la Suisse et des modifications relatives au territoire associé au bienfait de la neutralité du Corps Helvétique.

Ces changements se trouvant determinés par les stipulations du traité de Paris de ce jour, les Puissances signataires de la declaration de Vienne du vingt mars font, par le present acte, une reconnaissance formelle et authentique de la neutralité perpetuelle de la Suisse, et elles lui garantissent l'intégrité et l'inviolabilité de son territoire dans ses nouvelles limites, telles qu'elles sont fixées, tant par l'acte du Congrès de Vienne que par le traité de Paris de ce jour; et telles qu'elles le seront ultérieurement, conformément à la disposition du protocole du 3 novembre ci-joint en extraite, qui stipule en faveur du Corps Helvétique un nouvel accroissement de territoire à prendre sur la Savoie, pour arrondir et descenclaver le canton de Genève.

Les Puissances reconnaissent et garantissent également la neutralité des parties de la Savoie, designées par l'acte du Congrès de Vienne du 29 mars mil huit cent quinze, et par le traité de Paris de ce jour, comme devant jouir de la neutralité de la Suisse de la maniére que si elles appartaient a celle-ci.

Les Puissance signataires de la declaration du vingt mars reconnaissent authentiquement, par le present acte, que le neutralité et l'inviolabilité de la Suisse et son indépendence de toute influence étrangère sont dans les vrais intérêts de la politique de l'Europe entière.

Elles déclarent qu'aucune induction défavorable aux droits de la

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Suisse, relativement à sa neutralité, et à l'inviolabilité de son territoire, ne peut ni ne doit être tirée des événements qui ont amené le passage des troupes alliées sur une partie du sol Helvétique. Ce passage librement consenti par les cantons dans la convention du vingt, a été le résultat nécessaire de l'adhésion franche de la Suisse aux principes manifestés par les puissances signataires du traité d'alliance du 25 mars.

Les puissances se plaisent à reconnaître que la conduite de la Suisse dans cette circonstance d'épreuve a montré, qu'elle savait faire de grand sacrifices au bien général, et au soutien d'une cause que toutes Puissances de l'Europe ont défendue, et qu'enfin la Suisse était digne d'obtenir les avantages qui lui sont assurées, soit par les dispositions du Congrès de Vienne, soit par le traité de Paris de ce jour, soit par le présent acte, auquel toutes Puissances de l'Europe sont invitées à accéder.

Suivant les signatures dans l'ordre alphabétique des Courts:

Autriche: Le prince de Metternich; Le baron de Wessenberg.

France: Richelieu.

Grande Bretagne: Castlereagh; Wellington.

Portugal: Le comte de Palmella; Don Joachim Lobe da Silveira.

Prusse: Le prince de Hardenberg; Le baron de Humboldt.

Russie: Le prince de Rasoumoffsky; Le comte Capo d'Istria.

N.B.—The document of November 20, 1815, was later signed also by the delegates of Spain and Sweden.

With regard to the history of the document itself, it must be noted that its form and wording were chiefly the work of the Swiss delegate, Charles Pictet de Rochemont, who, recognizing with subtle insight the position of Switzerland and actuated by ardent patriotism and faith in the rôle and future of his country, ably defended its interests. To his courage and skill it is due to a large degree that Switzerland in her state of weakness and dependence was not committed to more binding obligations. At first Canning, then British ambassador at Zurich, was commissioned to draft the note. As he did not manage to put it in acceptable form, Capo d'Istria, with the consent of Castlereagh, asked Pictet himself to draft the document, although, to avoid further delay and discussion, it was given out officially as Capo d'Istria's own work. Pictet used particular care in the wording, not to let it appear as if the guarantee of the neutrality was a gift of the Powers, but to express clearly that it was a formal and authentic recognition of the existing perpetual neutrality of Switzerland, which of course was his firm conviction. He insisted also on having

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it clearly stated that the neutrality and inviolability of Switzerland and her independence from all foreign influence are in the true interests of all Europe. Of this achievement the framer felt rightly proud afterwards.

As to the later development of Swiss permanent neutrality, it is interesting to note that, parallel with the progress of democracy, with the strengthening of the political consciousness and independence, went a stricter adherence to the principle of neutrality on the part of all sections of the population and a more definite formulation of the duties it entailed, not only for the government in official actions, but for the citizens towards the state. On the part of some of the European governments, no doubt the independence and neutrality of Switzerland was at first regarded as a kind of contract based on the upkeeping of the conditions defined by the Congress of Vienna. Such no doubt was the conception of some of the courts in regard to the change of the constitution from a loose "Staatenbund" into a "Bundesstaat," which movement, after an unsuccessful attempt in 1832, found its realization in 1848. During the Sonderbund war of 1847, protesting notes were sent to the Swiss Diet, threatening to interfere on behalf of the Sonderbund cantons, claiming the right of interference on the ground that the guarantee of neutrality has been accorded to Switzerland in 1815 on the basis of the Bundesvertrag of August, 1815, according to which the constitution of each canton should be guaranteed and inviolable. The notes of Austria, France and Russia declared the guarantees of neutrality suspended so long as the recalcitrant cantons were occupied by military force and until their old constitution would be restored. There was actually considerable agitation in official circles of the reactionary courts, especially of Austria and France, to chastise the hated "nest of democrats," the carrying out of which was only retarded and prevented by the opposition of England and by the smouldering revolution, ready to break out at any moment in those countries themselves. The representatives of the Courts were refused recognition by the Diets of the majority of the cantons, in face of the danger of armed intervention. The leaders of Switzerland, backed by the whole people, with the exception

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of reactionary factions in power in the seven Sonderbund cantons (though forming even in some of them only a minority), considered the constitution of 1815, as well as its proposed reorganization and the Sonderbund war, as purely internal affairs. The country was determined to oppose with armed force any attempt at intervention. In the meantime the five weeks' war was ended, the reactionary governments abdicated or were turned out and the Sonderbund cantons were brought in line without really any coercion. Switzerland had at this time again reached a state of complete independence and by her own act. Her courageous stand against the reactionary forces at the courts of Europe in no small measure encouraged the liberal outburst of 1848 all over Europe. The policy of permanent neutrality, however, was now raised to a constitutional maxim of the federal state. The constitution of 1848 includes among the permanent duties of the Federal Council the "maintenance of neutrality" and the "providing for its security," and the same clauses form part of the present revised constitution, dating from 1874. (Vide Federal Constitution of 1848: Article 74, section 6, and article 85, section 9; Federal Constitution 1874: article 85, sections 6 and 12). Special provisions for offences against duties of neutrality are, moreover, contained in the Federal Penal Law (articles 39 and 41) and in the Military Penal Law (article 45).

Other crises arose on several occasions, but while strictly adhering to duties of neutrality, any interference by foreign Powers in internal affairs was determinedly refused. The most notable instance was the Neuchatel affair in 1856. Neuchatel had in the middle ages been a principality under the sovereignty of a branch of the family of Bourbon. Early in the time of the formation of the Swiss league Neuchatel entered into close relations with Berne and Frybourg and later with the Confederation and considered itself practically a part thereof and sharing its neutrality. It was therefore in 1815 included as a new canton. When in the eighteenth century the ruling Bourbon family died out, Neuchatel, fearing to be definitely annexed to the Kingdom of France, offered its throne to a Hohenzollern as having closer family relations to the old

rulers. The claims were always more nominal than real, and Neuchatel enjoyed practical independence. When in 1856, however, the canton changed its constitution to a republican form, a faction faithful to the Prussian overlordship in a mighty attack overpowered the council and took possession of the government buildings. Swiss troops were sent to restore order and the usurpers were made prisoners. The King of Prussia demanded the liberation of the prisoners and threatened to uphold his claims by force of arms. The Swiss government, however, did not retreat and when Prussia began to prepare for war, Swiss troops were sent to occupy the Rhine frontier. The whole population took up the cause with enthusiasm and all sections rivalled in energy for the preparation for war, while money contributions flowed in from Swiss abroad. Before it came to actualities the question was put before a conference of the Powers. Finally the King of Prussia renounced forever for the Hohenzollern family the sovereign rights to Neuchatel and in return Switzerland granted immunity to the prisoners.

In 1887 representations were made to the Swiss government by the German government regarding some groups of socialists and anarchists, who issued various sorts of revolutionary literature in Zurich directed against and spread through Germany. The case caused some agitation among the Swiss people, who generally regarded the complaints of the German government as a disregard of Swiss sovereign rights. Close investigation was, however, ordered and the crisis came to a sudden end when the chief of police of Zurich found out that the leaders of the gang were secret agents of the Berlin police.

A somewhat different question, connected with neutrality, was faced by the Swiss government during the Franco-Prussian war, 1870-71. In the spring of 1871 the army of General Bourbaki, which failed in its attempt to raise the siege of Belfort, was hard pressed towards the Swiss frontier by the pursuing Prussians. Disorganized, destitute, without provisions in the snow and cold of the Jura winter, the army was forced, by starvation and freezing to death, to the frontier. General Clinchant, who had taken command, made a

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treaty with the commandant of the Swiss troops guarding the frontiers, General Herzog, with consent of the Swiss government, surrendering the army and equipment to the Swiss authorities. Thus the whole remnants of the army, about 80,000 men and some 12,000 horses, were disarmed at the Swiss frontier near Verrieres and led across into Switzerland, during the first days of February, 1871, to be interned and cared for until after the end of the war.

The present war is not yet over and no one knows what complications it may yet bring. The probability, however, is small that Switzerland will yet be drawn into the conflict. This peculiar position of Switzerland, in a state of peace and of friendship to all neighbors, though surrounded by four of the warring nations, can certainly not be without significance for students of political science. However this condition may be explained, the fruits of a policy of permanent neutrality manifest themselves clearly in it. At the outbreak of the war, in July 1914, the Swiss government sent notes to all the Powers declaring its intention to preserve and maintain its neutrality throughout the war and to oppose all aggression from whatever side it might come. The certainty of meeting the determined resistance of a whole and united people was no doubt the chief factor that prevented violation of Swiss territory. There is, of course, some division of sympathies for the two opposing sides, though a large section of the population is neutral even in sympathy, at least so far as the directly neighboring nations are concerned. Individuals and small groups have sometimes been made the tools of foreign intrigue, but they have been condemned by the almost unanimous voice of Switzerland. In a number of ways Switzerland also has tried to lighten the sufferings of war as far as her neutral position enables her to do so. We may only mention the exchange of seriously wounded, Red Cross prisoners, and interned refugees from occupied enemy territories, the establishment of a bureau of information regarding war prisoners, refugees, etc. To the end of March, 1916, as many as fifty trains with 111,439 persons were exchanged with the aid of the Swiss government (97,753 French and 10,581 Germans). By arrangements with the French and German governments

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it has been made possible to take into care for cure and recovery sick and disabled prisoners. Several thousands of both French and German have already arrived and are distributed in different parts of the country in hotels, private houses, and hospitals. While they are considered interned for the duration of the war, they are removed from the sounds of battle or from the conditions of internment camps in enemy countries.

In drawing our conclusion from this sketch of the history of Swiss permanent neutrality, we can safely say that the latter is in no way a creation of the treaty of 1815. It is a condition existing of itself and independent of the guarantee of the Powers. The declaration of the 20th of November, 1815, was only the recognition of an established principle with a long historical development. It was the definition of the relation of the Powers to this state under the existing conditions, not the creation of new conditions. In the Confederation of the Swiss cantons the Powers had in 1814-15 a living nation before them, which could not without danger to themselves be put out of existence, notwithstanding that at the moment it was in a state of weakness and internal disorder. It cannot be doubted that whatever would have been done to it, the state would have arisen again after regaining a clear view of its political ideal and aim, somewhat weakened before and confused during the revolutionary period. The declaration of 1815 was not only the work of a Swiss, but it contains no mention of any special duties on the part of Switzerland that would arise out of it. The only condition on which the declaration of the Powers was made dependent was the accession of the Swiss Diet to the dispositions of the transaction presented on March 20, 1815, chiefly defining the future frontiers. With the acceptance of the terms of the Powers, which was effected in the note from the Diet to the Powers of May 27, 1815, this sole condition was fulfilled. According to the words of the act itself, the guarantee of the Powers does not refer to the neutrality but only to the "integrity and inviolability of her territory." Some would hold even, that this means only the recognition of the integrity and

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inviolability of the frontiers as newly defined by the treaties of Vienna and Paris.

It is, therefore, not in accordance with the actual facts to consider Switzerland as a state neutralized by the Powers. Permanent neutrality is not, for Switzerland, a passive condition imposed from outside, but an active principle in the formation and life of the state. It is the expression towards the outside world of the same spirit which is the reason and origin of the democracy within. Internal causes arising out of the state's own aims are the guarantee for the maintenance of Swiss neutrality. While it is in the general interests of Europe, it is not created by the Powers. In accordance with this policy, Switzerland always kept alive to the need of preparation for an effective defence, and the more consciously and determined the policy of neutrality was followed, the more the need of preparedness was recognized. Small and weak in resources and available men, an exemplary militia army has been developed. Although each citizen is required to make comparatively large sacrifices in time and money, it is generally willingly done. For many, especially the farmer youths, the periodical military service is looked to as a pleasure and honour. Civilian life is in many ways intricately connected with the military training and perfection. Local cavalry, artillery and infantry societies, officers' and subordinate officers' clubs and excursions, addresses, sundry meetings and many other practices and institutions privately aid the military training; and target shooting has developed into an important national sport. In every way the equipment is kept up to date and modern fortresses have been built at strategic points. A new organization of the whole army and defence system was passed by referendum by a strong majority in a time when talk of arbitration and international socialism was loud and general.

There can be no question that Switzerland as a sovereign state can at any time renounce her policy of neutrality. By no international obligations is she bound to the contrary. That there is little probability, however, of an abandonment of this principle on the part of Switzerland for a long time to come, in fact as long as the Swiss state remains a living

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thing, or does not fundamentally change its nature, follows from all that has been said about its history.

Nor are there any obligations of international origin forbidding Switzerland to enter into alliances with foreign states. The right to alliances was tacitly admitted by the Powers in the issuing of the declaration regarding the neutrality in November, 1815, as the latter was made to Switzerland on the basis of the constitution of August of the same year. Of this, then regarded and accepted by the Powers as the official constitution of the confederation, article 8 mentions explicitly among the powers of the Diet: . . . "the Diet declares war and peace; it alone makes alliances with other states; but for these important negotiations three-quarters of the cantonal votes are required." The constitution of 1848 contains in article 8 the provision empowering the Federal Council to conclude "alliances and treaties" with other states. Basing his action on this provision, King Charles Albert of Sardinia made an offer in 1848 to the Diet for the conclusion of an alliance against Austria. The proposal was not refused on formal grounds, but discussed on its merits by the Swiss Diet and rejected by fifteen against seven votes. The revised constitution of 1874 includes the same provision among the powers of the Federal Council. Although it refers chiefly to commercial treaties, military alliances are in no way excluded. The policy of neutrality can, however, be regarded as developed still a step further; for, except in quite exceptional cases, any offer of an alliance would to-day be rejected *a limine* by the Federal Council, without formal discussion in the legislature.

These, then, are in short the *raisons d'être* of the permanent neutrality of Switzerland. It arises out of the peculiar character of the state itself and is inseparably bound up with the principles of its democracy. It derives its origin, strength and maintenance from internal sources. As it is not the creation of any international treaty, it is not consistent with the facts nor with the real inner nature of the conditions to regard Switzerland as a neutralized country. In the valleys around the centre of the Alps a Free State grew into existence on the basis of local freedom and independence, until it developed

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into the present modern democratic republic. Neutrality towards the outside is considered an indispensable condition for its striving towards perfection. It must and will be maintained and defended as long as the Swiss nation desires to exist separately, and to form an independent state, or until Switzerland will be dissolved in a wider European confederation, of which it may even form the germ.

F. W. BAUMGARTNER.

BOOK NOTE.

Bi-lingual Schools in Canada. By C. B. Sissons. J. M. Dent and Sons, Toronto, 1917.

This study of the language question in Canada gives the reader a very good grasp of its many complicated phases. Professor Sissons has investigated the situation at first-hand. He does not deal with bilingual teaching in Quebec or the Maritime Provinces, confining his survey to the storm-centres in Ontario and the prairie west. In the case of each province a clear historical introduction is given, and the development of official theory and actual practice is traced down to the present year. The most important documents are given in full. Particularly valuable are the accounts of the activities of that distinctive western product, the Official Trustee.

Professor Sissons stands strongly for efficient teaching in English as all essential, and stresses the provision of adequately trained teachers as the most needed means to this end. "If half the energy and money expended on fighting for chimerical French rights," he declares, "had been directed towards the training of teachers truly bilingual, our troubles would have sensibly decreased or, indeed, it may be, entirely vanished." His sympathies are strongly in favor of the direct method, beginning teaching in and through English from the very beginning. At the same time, he urges the provision of instruction in a second language where feasible, and takes the ground that French has a different status and different future from other non-English tongues. The suggestions for improving the Ontario situation are practical and well supported.

Throughout, the study of Professor Sissons is admirably clear and well-proportioned, sympathetic and at the same time keenly critical. It can be recommended heartily to all interested in a question of which the last has not yet been heard, as the most comprehensive and impartial survey available.

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The Conflict over the Classics in the United States.

THE great republic has quite a dignified age now but it is still new in most of its characteristic features for it is still in the heyday of expansion and development. Everything that catches the eye is new or comparatively new, museums, hotels, railway stations, business buildings, banks, parks, and all is on a scale that proclaims the great resources and boundless optimism of a people with a new measure for things, at least in material dimensions. The American keeps his country looking new by constantly rebuilding it. It is only in very out-of-the-way places he allows anything old to stay, where there is absolutely no chance of a new construction paying its expenses. In most places the old pier or hotel you loved in the nineties disappeared by the end of the century and its place is taken by the newest and biggest brand of that thing which the architectural imagination can conceive. The shop in which you used to linger, perhaps unconsciously, over old prints or buy the rarer sorts of books in is gone in a few years, and the spacious emporium with many departments that occupies its place hardly keeps anything that does not sell at the rate of a hundred in the season. It would be so much dead stock and shop clerks look bored when you ask for a single volume of Diderot or Fichte. Such classics are read only in university libraries. Few things are allowed to stand long enough to gather softening associations of time about them and the spirit of the average American is not much enriched or deepened by contact with the things he lived with in his youth. The piety of things, as I might call it—*sunt lachrymae rerum*—is not highly developed in him and his naturally fine aesthetic instinct does not get sufficient nourishment in his own country. For the aesthetic sense of life in its higher development is not the mere product of direct contact with nature, as Walt Whitman so confidently preached and in a way Emerson also. It needs other support than that of the passing day as all spiritual culture does. It has its nobler root in the sense men have of the

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passage of human life, of the relation of the present to the past, that humanizing, half pitiful sense humanity has of its own movement onward, onward, through growth and decay, with the moment of brightness or realization between. You can see that is the secret fundamental feeling in all the great schools of landscape from Ruysdael to Corot and Turner.* I like the cool brightness of the summer skies on the shore of the St. Lawrence and the fresh sparkle of its waters in the morning sun. I prefer that climate to a southern one for steady use, but for all that the roll of the wave here in Metis Bay is not quite the same thing to me as it is in the Bay of Naples or at Cogoleto, with their old world memories of Roman days and Castilian grandeur and the great adventure of Columbus. Horace felt and measured that phenomenon in the human spirit long ago in his *carent quia vate sacro*, one of those many clear-cut phrases in the old Roman which are almost an education in themselves. Even Greek art did not live, as our utilitarian educationists seem to think, only on the things of its own day and generation. Homer, Phidias, Sophocles, Theocritus, they all built on a pious sense of the past which clarified and steadied their knowledge of the present. But in such matters the psychological analysis of Spencer and his followers is still a kind of abstract rationalism which is not very much beyond the views which their great predecessors, Fontenelle and Montesquieu, expressed about Art and Letters, and for much the same reason, namely, that their intelligence is much greater than the sensibility which feeds it.

The susceptibility of the average American to the claims of what is new half disarms him before innovations which are often crude and experimental. He has a private conviction that anything which is old must be obsolete and the principle he uses to justify change is generally some lower form of utility. It is a sound enough principle in the mechanics of business and it has no doubt a certain sociological value. But there are spheres where it has its disadvantages; in education, for example, where he is apt to hail any pedagogical nov-

*Compare a fine analysis by Goethe of three landscapes by Ruysdael in one of his late essays on art. I think its title is *Ruysdael als Dichter*.

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elty as if it were going to bring in the golden age. And it is just here that the absolute separation he tends to make between the useful and the aesthetic works the most havoc. The inadequate appreciation of the nature of the aesthetic in human life which made Fontenelle and Montesquieu (following Bacon mainly, I think,) treat art and poetry and imaginative literature generally as only a pleasing lie appears again in our time in views which make them decorative or supplementary additions to education quite separable from a useful preparation for life, "relaxations and amusements filling leisure hours," as Spencer calls them, (his fifth and lowest category of values) but no "fundamental requisite to human happiness." †

I admit that many men hustle through life with average happiness without much aid from art or literature, but so they do also without much individual knowledge of physical science, theoretic or applied, though on the whole I should think the literary faculty of reading and a cultivated power of speech were probably as useful to the citizen of a modern State as any of the sciences. Looked at strictly, nothing is "fundamentally requisite to human happiness" which may not be found in the civilization of the wigwam, or still lower; but the higher it rises in the scale the more does society require not only mechanical and social organization by means of science and law but also the purely intellectual or spiritual organization which gives all the rest working harmony. A moral consent which is profoundly aesthetic in its character is the necessary cement of a highly constituted society. Ancient legislation made a great use of religious fable in this connection. That we can no longer do so does not mean, as our utilitarians think, that the place can be left empty or filled by scientific treatises on "the moral virtues and their reasons." Physical science cannot take us beyond the laws that manifest themselves in material phenomena, and the other sciences only do so by borrowing moral and aesthetic principles. The economist's analysis of rent or the nature of labour and contract may be based on an objective method of

†Spencer, *What Knowledge is of Most Worth?*

observation or enquiry, but the application he makes of such knowledge is controlled by a moral conception of life which differs according as he holds the views of Smith or the Fabian society, and he does not reach that moral conception by the pure inductions of any science but by the ideal demand which his nature as a whole makes on life. The sciences of human life differ greatly from the physical sciences, and to some extent amongst themselves, in the kind of observation and perceptiveness which they require and the way in which their material must be accumulated and handled. The proper or scientific treatment of a subject will therefore differ greatly according as the material is physical, social, aesthetic or moral, and it is really a very arbitrary and inadequate view of human life which regards the observation and reasoning developed by the study of the physical sciences as more useful than all the rest both for the individual and the progress of the race. You may extend the creed of Utilitarianism, as Mill did, into the highest regions of spirit theoretically, but in its practical working it tends to give a preference to the lower forms of utility. Spencer's educational theory, for example, is really founded on the view that because the preservation of the body is the "first" in the order of time, it is therefore first in the order of values for society. Humanity in its higher civilization has persistently groped after another view of values, and therefore five-sixths of its historic activities, religious, social and intellectual, seem to Spencer and all this school of thinkers but a senseless panorama. They are modest, aren't they? As if, too, their great goddess, Nature, worked only in the wonderful hidden forces of mother earth and had nothing whatever to do with the wonderful forces in the spirit of man. The theories of Schopenhauer and Hartmann on the unconscious form of will are certainly not a complete philosophy of life but they represent an element in its movement which our pure rationalists rather overlook.

But even in the United States, where the utilitarian spirit is both powerful and aggressively exclusive in the sphere of education, there is a great body of opinion that may be mustered in support of more comprehensive views. There is a

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natural strain of idealism in the countrymen of Emerson and Hawthorne, especially where their influence is so native as it is amongst the intellectual classes of the older States. There are more thousands that have not bowed the knee to Baal than you might think. The universities are the natural guardians of culture, whatever other functions they may add to that one. At one time they used to suffer a good deal of criticism on that account from the average business man. Perhaps he is growing wiser now or it may be the universities have successfully propitiated him by their practical extensions, but we don't hear so much of his objections to Latin and classical studies. The assault comes mainly now from a class of professional educationists. Some of the universities, it is true, are very radical in their tendencies, especially those that are under the thumb of small provincial or state legislation, that incarnation of the average man and his limitations, but even at these it is curious to notice how old classical studies are kept alive and even brought into scientific repute as anthropology, archaeology, epigraphy and the like under cover of which the student is likely to learn something of Thucydides and Virgil. Dr. Eliot himself bends his head reverently before such sciences which Bentley only knew as Monsieur Jourdain spoke prose all his life without being aware of it. Scientific method and exact observation! there is more of it in a page of Bentley than in whole volumes of anthropology that I know of. There are also some universities that still maintain the purer tradition of classical study in its full vigour. That is, they believe the history of our civilization and of man's struggle to comprehend and organize his life may be as profitably studied in the great literary records of Greece and Rome as in the excavated pots and pans of ancient Egypt and Phrygia, or even a good deal more so. And truly he would be a strange student of Mommsen's Rome who could fancy that that powerfully moralized picture of national struggle and development does not owe much more to pure literature, to Sallust and Caesar and Cicero (much as Mommsen abuses Cicero, no one uses him more or is more indebted to him for a vital knowledge of social and political conditions in the Roman state), to Plutarch and Livy and Varro than to epigraphy or archæology or any other

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of these sciences. These latter are but ancillary studies which assume their highest and ultimate value when they pass into such a form of literature as the famous *History of Rome*. Numismatics may help Mommsen to determine the changing usage of the word "imperator" or decide approximately when a Gallic city received Latin rights, or an inscription may be very useful in recording the fact for him that a Roman consul once passed this way, but it is pedantic to put such milestone aids to the history of humanity on a level with the supreme and comprehensive revelations contained in great literature; it is a false Alexandrian refinement of our new scientific erudition.

Princeton University.

Amongst American universities, Princeton is notable as maintaining the old classical tradition in full vigour, although of course there is no lack of those new developments of scientific and practical training which characterize a modern university. As usual, there is something in its origin and situation which contribute to determine its character. Princeton University has a respectable antiquity amongst American institutions. Nassau Hall was built in 1756 and so named after "the immortal memory of the glorious William the Third of the illustrious House of Nassau," a House once the pillar of Protestant faith in Europe and naturally held in much reverence by the New Jersey Puritans and divines of that time. It was the stateliest building of the kind then in the country and after experiencing the destructive effects of war from the military operations and occupations of both sides during the struggle for independence it had the honour of housing the Congress which met in 1783 at the end of the war to discuss the future of a new nation. Here too Washington received the formal thanks of his countrymen for his services as Commander-in-Chief. The old building with its ivy-covered walls still serves as the administrative centre of the university where the President, Deans, Registrar and other officials have their offices. It is considerably changed in the interior, however, since revolutionary days, its chief interest for the visitor being now a solid looking dignified Faculty Hall with dark

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oaken panels and benches. Its walls are covered with portraits of academic notabilities mostly of a past time, Murrays, Kirkpatricks, Macleans, McCoshes, often with a to me very familiar look of Scotch Presbyterianism about them, for Princeton like many old educational institutions owes its origin to the Church's appreciation of learning. "None may be expected to be admitted into College" (so runs its first regulation for the admission of students) "but such as shall be found able to render Virgil and Tully's Orations into English . . . and to be so well acquainted with the Greek as to render any part of the four Evangelists in that language into Latin or English." A portrait of Woodrow Wilson (head of the University from 1902 to 1910), full length and life size, occupies a conspicuous place on the wall to the right as you enter. His appearance is not in any noticeable discord with the shades of past Presbyterian D.D.'s, though a certain divine aplomb is wanting.

But Nassau Hall and the older buildings around it and the old front campus bordering on Nassau Street—still a pleasant spot with its tall trees and green swards—are quite overshadowed by the more recent architectural extensions of the University to the south where the grounds stretch in a wide easy slope towards Carnegie Lake. Running down on the western side of this is an imposing line of dormitories, harmonious and not too formal in its effect, with the massive square tower and archway of Blair Hall as its central feature and terminating in a large gymnasium. The whole is in collegiate Gothic style and defines admirably the western border of the grounds. The half-closed square also of which Alexander Hall, a magnificent building for Commencement purposes, and Witherspoon Hall make sides and that formed by Nassau Hall and Clio and Whig Halls have a certain unifying and centralizing effect, but otherwise there is not much architectural grouping in the buildings which for the most part lie loosely around in irregular quadrangles. It is not an impression of cloistered seclusion you get but of large open spaces full of light and sunshine, especially towards the eastern part of the grounds which are dotted over with a great variety of buildings, the great McCosh Hall for lectures, the Marquand

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Chapel, the Art Museum, the residences of the President and Deans, the Dodge Hall for religious meetings, the large buildings for scientific research, Palmer Laboratory, Guyot Hall, etc., all standing rather independently on the spacious grounds of Princeton. Still further east on ground quite recently acquired are the University Club-houses and the great Athletic Field with its running track, its baseball and football grounds and tennis courts. I had only a glimpse of them, but the large open meadows which here slope down to Carnegie Lake with a pleasant variety of woods, fields and brooks, seemed a very attractive feature of Princeton. Here too, I heard, were aquaria and vivaria, and the biological ponds and woodland enclosures where the student may observe animal life under natural conditions. All these constructions are of yesterday, so to speak, the dormitories which can accommodate about 1,200 students, dating mostly from the last decade of the nineteenth century, the other buildings somewhat later. Architecturally, Princeton's claims to antiquity are slight and its appearance in no way recalls the grey walls of Oxford or the Sorbonne. Nearly all of these erections, too, are the gift of liberal-minded citizens, generally old graduates or parents and relatives of graduates, sometimes the combined contribution of the classes of two, three and even ten years, proud to add something to the dignity and efficiency of their old Alma Mater. A pleasant testimony to a characteristic form of American public spirit, which also leaves its record not quite so pleasantly in those unaesthetic double and treble barreled designations, John C. Green School of Science, Albert B. Dod Hall, Isabella McCosh Infirmary, etc.

Most of these buildings stand on the central and older part of the University grounds, consisting of some two hundred and twenty-five acres originally granted by the town of Princeton in 1752. But away to the west the University recently received the gift of another 200 acres on which the new Graduate College has been built about three-quarters of a mile distant. It is a closed quadrangle measuring about two hundred and fifty by two hundred feet; two-storied dormitories with their Gothic archways, turrets and vestibules, to which the high square mass of the Cleveland Memorial Tower

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gives strength and dignity; comfortable and attractive rooms well provided for the student's needs, the studies with electric reading lamps, and—generous thought!—open fire-places in addition to the steam heating. The chief feature of the interior is the great Dining Hall, one hundred and eight feet by thirty-six, done in chapel style with oak panels and an open beamed arching roof and a great west window of stained glass richly coloured but unimpressively designed, I thought, in its figures. Its legend too: *nec vocemini magistri, quia magister vester unus est Christus*, which might read well in the ascetic solemnity of a Carthusian monastery, did not strike one as particularly expressive of the place or the spirit of American youth.

The Graduate College stands on a ridge and from its south terrace or lawn you get a good view of the country as it rolls southward in gentle undulations to a low distant line of hills which bounds the horizon. It did not seem to be trimly cultivated, rough and swampy tracts being frequent, nor fine in timber, which was mostly of poorish second growth, but it was pleasant to the eye with its agreeable diversity of fields and woodlands, a wide green prospect giving one a full breath of nature's quiet deep harmony. One must count it as no small part of an aesthetic education for the Princeton student to be housed as he is and to live amidst such surroundings.

The Classical Conference.

Princeton University is situated in a very small town, a position which does not favour the development of some departments of industrial and technical science. There is all the more reason therefore that it should maintain other departments in which it stands at no disadvantage at the highest point of efficiency. It has claims, for example, to be the leading American University in classical studies and it was natural that the great Classical conference of June 2 should be held within its walls. The conference was designed as a protest against the views of those educationists who deprecate the general value of classical or humanistic study and would partly at least displace it by the study of science and what they call observational training. The question has different

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aspects in its relation to primary schools, secondary schools and colleges or universities, but in the main comes to be practically a question of the retention of Latin as a compulsory subject in the university curriculum. It is an old and much debated question but the revolutionary views have recently been urged with so much vigour by ex-President Eliot of Harvard, Dr. Abraham Flexner and others that a demonstration of more than usual weight and solemnity on the other side seemed fitting. What was peculiar about this Conference was that the speakers had no professional connection with classical studies; they were chosen from outside circles, representatives of big business interests like Alba B. Johnson, President of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, eminent newspaper editors like Mr. Mitchell of the *Sun*, and Mr. Miller of the *Times*; great practical engineers like Mr. L. B. Stillwell, railway presidents like Mr. Fairfax Harrison; or they were taken from university departments which have no formal relation to the classics, Deans of Law, Medicine, or Economics, from various universities, Michigan, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Wisconsin. It was a notable demonstration in favour of classical studies from men of great ability and experience who were accustomed to speak from a high sense of responsibility, and on this subject spoke without any bias of professional interests and studies, or the rather blinding affection of the system-maker or doctrinaire for his system. A few written testimonials to the value of classical studies from the leading statesmen of the day were also handed round, from President Woodrow Wilson, ex-President Taft, Theodore Roosevelt, Elihu Root and Secretary Lansing. After all it is a very noteworthy fact that these five men, the leading names in American politics of to-day, trained in that most practical school of life and hardened to its realities, should agree in insisting on the necessity of classical study in a liberal education. President Wilson put the main argument very forcibly and briefly, though in a large style of phrasing which it needs a liberal education to realize fully:

We should have scant capital to trade on were we to throw away the wisdom we have inherited and seek our fortunes with the slender stock we ourselves have accumulated. This, it seems

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to me, is the real, the prevalent argument, for holding every man we can to the intimate study of the ancient classics What you cannot find a substitute for is the classics as literature; and there can be no first hand contact with that literature if you will not master the grammar and syntax which convey its subtle power You do not know the world until you know the men who have possessed it and tried its wares before you were ever given your brief run upon it. And there is no sanity comparable with that which is schooled in the thoughts that will keep.

Every sentence there is the proper counter to arguments of Herbert Spencer in his essay *What Knowledge is of Most Worth?* but every one would need a chapter of illustration and elucidation to itself, and when I read Dr. Eliot's reflections on what one may learn—or rather may not learn—from the history of Athenian democracy or Roman politics I see that he is very far from realizing the form of perception and thinking involved in President Wilson's utterances. But it is a blindness which marks a whole school of thinkers, and a great one, from Fontenelle to Spencer.

Taking it altogether, the Conference was a very striking testimony to the existence of a weighty body of opinion in the United States which is in strong contrast to much that one reads in the publications of American school boards and pedagogists and which passes as current American opinion. It was an event, to me at least, to hear a president of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, Mr. Stillwell, declaring that thirty years of experience and observation had convinced him that "the study of Latin is of great practical value to the young man who expects to be an engineer and who possesses sufficient innate ability to become in any sense a leader in his profession"; it involved, he said, a training in adequate and accurate statement the want of which he had found to be a serious defect in the average graduate of a technological school. That opinion is not the psychological theorizing of a scholar in his study as to what should, could or would be the best training in accuracy of statement, but the actual experience of an eminent practical man who is out to get results. Not less striking, for the same reason that it was founded on a large practical experience, was the testimony of the two New York editors as to the value of Latin as a support and

safeguard for good English. This was the aspect of the question which a long business intercourse with "editorial writers, reporters and newspaper correspondents" had evidently impressed on their mind. "The most serious practical evil to result from the elimination of the classics," Mr. E. P. Mitchell of the New York *Sun* declared, "will fall upon the English language itself." Mr. Mitchell was copious and eloquent on the subject of the marvellous delicacy of the English language, "that heritage from two hundred generations of our thinking ancestors, that palimpsest of Latin and Greek culture" and of all the earlier cultures handed down to us through Greco-Roman civilization. He was humorous too on the deteriorating influence of "headline English" in the newspapers and altogether kept the audience well awake by the lively shrewdness of his remarks and occasionally a snappy modern phrase which was not perhaps in strict accordance with that ideal of classical style which he had defined in words of subtle appreciation. "No more working efficiency than a last month's commutation ticket" was the judgment he passed on some educational practice, I remember, a perorating sentence which brought the due laugh from the audience and rounded off a successful platform speech. The style of Dr. Miller of the *Times* was more quietly orthodox, but his address contained some well considered and carefully stated judgments on the value of classical studies. He gave some very effective illustrations from his experience: "I merely mean" (he said in a quiet guarded way) "that a newspaper reporter, correspondent or editorial writer who does not know, citing only examples that have come under my eye, that *expurgate* does not mean *expunge*, that *egregious* is only by custom and not by etymology an epithet of reproach, and that a *decimated* regiment may still be a force to be reckoned with, has much to learn about the English language." A fertile theme which might be pursued far into the psychological recesses of the sense for language, as it was by Fichte and Grundtvig though in an opposite direction.

The speeches of the University Deans and professors went more on familiar and fundamental lines of argument such as the discriminating and accurate observation developed by the

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study of Latin with its fine inflexional and grammatical system. Professor Barker, of the department of Clinical Medicine in Johns Hopkins, and Dean Pound, of the Harvard Law School, both laid stress on the gymnastic value of Latin. Dean Magie, Professor of Physics at Princeton, even insisted that a training in the use of the inductive and scientific method of reasoning could not be better obtained than "by the use of the grammar and dictionary in the interpretation of the meaning of some classical author." Professor Berryman Scott, Professor of Geology at Princeton, touched on the larger question of the relation of Latin to the historical continuity of our civilization and protested against our "reverting to barbaric standards of mere vocational training." Dean Vaughan, of the medical school in Michigan University, stated that his experience as a teacher was that students with a classical training turned out better in medicine than those with only scientific preparation and gave some reasons, such as the obvious advantage which students of Greek have in a ready understanding of many medical terms. I doubt, however, if the opponents of classical study feel their position seriously threatened by many of these arguments, at any rate as they are usually stated. To be of much weight they would need to be strongly attached to some fundamental line of thought, some psychology of education which related them to a general view of life as modern as that of the utilitarian school, but more inclusive. I confess I always feel a little uneasy over the argument from the gymnastic value of Latin syntax and grammar. It is real enough, but to show its special relation to modern life and the faculty of language is another matter. I am not sure even that the aesthetic sense of expression got from a knowledge of the finer uses of the Latin dative or ablative absolute might not be fairly balanced by a perception of the admirable precision of a phrase in Sainte-Beuve or a delicate turn of speech in Anatole France or the fine naivete of style in Strindberg. It is true these latter cannot be reduced to rule and are perhaps too fine for elementary gymnastic. There is at least a temporary pedagogical consideration in the high organization of classical teaching. But one hesitates to make mere difficulty and ob-

struction a criterion of educational value. The value of Latin rests on a much securer basis than that, both as carrying the key to the original and living sense of the larger part of English vocabulary and on its utility as the most widely distributed and nearly all pervading literary and linguistic element in the history of our Western civilization.

Most of the addresses or papers—they were all written discourses—were discursive, suggestive, illustrative rather than fundamental in treatment, the time allowed for each being short and the speakers not being professional humanists or philosophers who live and have their being in literature, but only friends of literature who spoke of it as it touched the orbit of their own proper studies and interests. It was noticeable that most of them were grey-headed men in the fifties and sixties; at times you heard the rounded periods and classical prose rhythms of Daniel Webster and affectionate references to Addison, Swift, Dr. Johnson, and Dryden's translation of Virgil. But it was none the less impressive as a demonstration on the part of men of distinguished ability and high experience who felt, each in his own way, that the opponents of classical study were overlooking vital elements in education.

Senator Lodge's Address.

The closing address by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge was the grand address of the Conference and was a sort of demonstration by itself. Other speakers had been restricted by their position on the programme to ten or twelve minutes, but Senator Lodge had a whole hour or more in which to deliver his speech on "The General Value of Classical Studies." He came in late and was given a seat of honor alongside of President Hibben. His appearance was distinguished, a tall, lean, graceful figure with fine lines about the head and well trimmed curling hair and beard, both now silvery grey. He was evidently a favourite with the audience for they gave him a most hearty welcome, rising to their feet and cheering again and again. He began with a few extempore words in a strong clear voice and the style that gives natural relief to platform speech, but soon took to his paper and like all the rest dropped

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into an essay reading tone. It is rather a rare art to give oratorical relief to a written discourse. Mr. Lodge's address was a scholarly one distinguished by a highly cultured thought, fine appreciations and fine literary workmanship. There were numerous quotations also, mostly from the poets, marking the man who loves

to wander where the Muses haunt
Clear spring, or shady grove, or sunny hill.

From Terence and Dante he ranged to Emerson and Browning, always apt and delightful; Browning was evidently a favourite, the quotations from him having the true esoteric flavour. After a fine and comprehensive sketch of what the classics had meant to men at the revival of learning and for long afterwards he referred to the new and revolutionary views which in the second half of the nineteenth century began to threaten their place in education and came thus to consider "the fundamental question as to what education is in the last analysis." Everything of course depends on the criterion you set up here. Spencer in his famous essay *What Knowledge is of Most Worth?* sets up five criteria or tests which of course he arranges in such grades of value as to make all that follows a foregone conclusion. Senator Lodge was content with only one. "The first and dominant object of education," he said, "is to teach the young so to control their minds that they can apply them to any subject of study and especially to a subject which it is a duty and not a pleasure to master and understand." That definition has at least the merit of emphasizing the training of the individual's faculty as distinguished from the mere accumulation of race experience, a distinction which Spencer's arrangement of criteria fails to make. But it is certainly a very wide definition from which it would obviously be difficult to reach any decisive and specific conclusion in favour of classical study, and it is perhaps a little awkward in the logical structure of the discourse that the Senator later on had to admit that "any form of learning can if properly administered teach the use and control of the mind." So the question came round after all to the specific utility of the form of learning to be encouraged. Here the Senator began by

putting forward the negative proposition that the money-making value of a subject is no good test of educational value. That is the real snake in the grass he knew, as far as the great general public is concerned, which really cares as little for the scientific educationist's enthusiasm over the anatomy of insects as it does for the scholar's interest in the fourth eclogue of Virgil or the philosophic depth of reflection and exposition in Thucydides and Demosthenes. What can you expect from it, when even to Dr. Eliot the pages of those classics are dark, irrecoverably dark, total eclipse. The Senator has naturally much to say on such aspects of the question and says it well. In reply to the lower form of utilitarianism, the money-making standard, he makes a general appeal to the moral idealism which is involved in the life of humanity. "The apostles and teachers of religion," he says, "the moralists, the poets, the dramatists, the artists, the philosophers, the students of science and of nature, the men whose thought has moved the world and led humanity in its groping, stumbling march across the centuries, have rarely been money seekers or money getters." And later on he seeks to put that half scientific, half industrial enthusiasm for the mere mechanics of life which sees in the dynamo and the motor car, in wireless telegraphy and aeroplanes the most notable achievements of civilization in its proper place by the same form of appeal:

They leave the soul of man untouched. The spirit of man, that which is highest in him, is not lifted up or strengthened by an automobile, or a traction engine, or even by an incandescent electric lamp. But the thoughts of men, of the philosophers, the moralists and the preachers of religion, of artists and architects, of the dramatists, the singers and the poets . . . are the real forces which have moved the world. Applied science and ingenious invention can change and have changed environment and have altered the scale of living and modes of life. But it is human thought and human imagination which have led men to the heights of intellectual and spiritual achievement.

Of course, Senator Lodge has got to face the great practical question, Of what use as a rule is the Latin which is learned at school and college, and mostly soon forgotten, to a man in after life? A formidable question which to most of our

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utilitarian educationists seems the very stronghold of their position. A complete and positive answer would require almost a treatise on the psychological relation of Latin to Western culture. Mr. Lodge is at first tempted, perhaps by a fine quotation, to reply by a poetic appeal which I fear will only make sport for the Philistines. It is the reply of Lear to the cold-souled Regan, who I doubt not was in full agreement with Spencer as to the "fundamental" values of the baker and bard for society:

O, reason not the need; our basest beggars
Are in poorest thing superfluous.

But of course the Senator has no difficulty in showing that the classics are something of a necessity or need for some professions at least; for the clergy as the language of the New Testament and the Catholic Church, for physicians who still write their prescriptions in Latin, for lawyers who still quote the maxims of "that great system of jurisprudence bequeathed to us by the Romans," for the astronomer who "cannot explore the heavens without seeing the beautiful mythology of Greece forever written in the stars," for naturalists and geologists whose nomenclatures are in a classical tongue, for philology, anthropology and archæology where Latin and Greek are essential.

It is true these arguments seem to make little impression on our educational revolutionaries. They treat each of them separately, dismissing this one as trivial and that one as of small account and putting aside others as the prerogatives of learned professions and a few scholars. Their reply looks reasonable in detail. But when all these scattered lights are focussed together in such a way that Greco-Roman thought and imagination are seen to constitute so much of the furniture of our mental world and to have formed the very mould of our civilization as distinguished from that of an Arab or a Japanese, we can surely ask with some force what other culture than the classics can be so widely useful to us. This is particularly the case when we consider the intimate relation which our literature has to Greco-Roman culture as its fount and that it still depends on that culture for steadyng, clarify-

ing and inspiring influences far more than our revolutionaries realize. What would Lessing, Sainte-Beuve, Arnold, Rydberg, Brunetière have been without the classical culture which steadied their standards of judgment? And they represent that literary criticism of life which has the most direct and widest influence on the culture of a nation. In general the utilitarian school fails to appreciate the immense part which literature plays in our modern life. The average man's knowledge of what is going on in the world around him, of his nation and its circumstances, of the opinions of its political leaders, its preachers, its writers, is derived from literature, from what he reads; and the quality of it will depend largely on how much a literary faculty of appreciation and discernment has been trained in him. It is really literature which binds men together in a spiritual world and gives such solidarity of moral consciousness to society as it has attained. It is virtually that moral sensorium of society which Spencer declared was lacking. I do not mean to deny the value of physical science even in this sphere. It is an important slow working leaven in the formation of general moral opinion just as metaphysics is and all the systematizing modes of thought. But it is in the more concrete presentation of literature that they reach the general moral consciousness, it is there that they are critically valued and taken up for the moral experience of the race. What can be used of Spinoza and Condillac or the erudition of Winckelmann, Heyne, Sulzer, is taken up by Goethe and Lessing for their time, for vital application to life, often in a form far remote from the original one. What can be made practical in the thought of Leibnitz and Swedenborg comes to its rights in Emerson, and the profoundly systematized thought of Fichte with its austere logical form appears in a later stage of development in Carlyle, because in him it is sifted and tested for application to concrete facts of history and biography. The science of Descartes and Boerhaave, of Linnaeus and the Cassinis is not only popularized by literary men like Diderot and Fontenelle as science—that is really a small matter which belongs to the element of dilettanteism in civilization—it is sifted and prepared by them for the moral experience of the

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race. In this way the latest and most concrete form of Kants, Rousseaus, Hegels, Lamarcks, Savignys may be ultimately found in the poetry of Schiller and Wordsworth and Browning, or in the novels and essays of Tolstoi and Bourget. The process never stops and is more like the living extension of a spider's web than the external succession of systems, in which all are dead except the last, by which the positivist school of science usually represent it. The wisdom of Locke receives a newer form in Macaulay than it had in Bolingbroke. Schleiermacher may receive his *best* form in some sermon or essay of the day, and there are many writers who are still more directly and consciously occupied in extracting from Aristotle and Horace, from Spinoza and Erasmus, from the memoirs of Evelyn and Walpole, a form of thought or lessons of experience adapted to our time. The world is perhaps too obvious to our Spencers and Eliots, partitioned and ticketed off into so many kinds of "knowledges." We must abstract to make our systems of thought, but the abstraction reveals itself when we try to tabulate their values for life, for "complete living."

On this subject of literature Senator Lodge's treatment rather lacks the modern note. He confines himself too much to general phrases of an old-fashioned type, and eloquent appeals to the uses of the imagination. I don't suppose that Dr. Eliot would think it worth while denying that literature, as the Senator told his audience, "is one of the greatest forces in the world and always has been and always will be so . . . offering us knowledge, spiritual inspiration, the vast world created by human imagination," etc., but the logic in such statements does not really oblige him to reconsider his way of grading and separating knowledge for the purpose of life as a whole. But the Senator made a shrewd contribution to the discussion when he took up the utilitarian objection to classical study that it is of no use to the "average man" in his daily life. Of course the "average man" with what seem to be his limited needs in respect of culture is a criterion the utilitarian educationists are very fond of setting up. They do not trouble themselves, I notice, to consider the subtler relations of the many to the few in this matter, the subtle

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interaction of thought and culture between them. Any vital flowering of thought or art has always a broad soil and support in a mass consciousness where its form is much lower, very imperfect perhaps, but still enriching, for by means of it the many share in the higher life of the few. Of course to a politician like the Senator, the average man was a very ticklish subject. It would have been awkward for the Senator to say roundly that the average man is no more a measure for the values of life to-day than the average Neanderthal man or anthropoid was in his day. So the Senator was wary, paid due respect to the average man, quoted a characteristic piece of philosophy from Lincoln: "God loves common men, that's why he made so many of them," and then proceeded to turn the argument very cleverly against his opponents by asking "how large a part the mathematics or science learned in youth played in the after life and daily interests of the average man." And he added very pertinently that in his experience of average men he had found them much oftener making reference to the history of Greece and Rome than to the theories of Mendel or the Linnaean system.

The Senator's argument here is more fundamental than it might seem from its cautious negative form. It points not only to the conclusion that the average man cannot be used as an educational standard in the way in which our utilitarian educationists use him, but also to the fact that in a national system of education there is something that looks beyond the individual to a general result.

The Senator also gave his audience a valuable quotation from a public letter recently issued by such distinguished men as Lord Bryce, Lord Curzon, Sir William Osler, Sir Archibald Geikie, and others. It summed up in clear and firm sentences two important aspects of the question, namely, that mental training and scientific method are "by no means identical with physical science," and that the study of Greece and Rome is of unique value for our civilization "which is rooted in the history of these peoples."

Senator Lodge's discourse was a comprehensive and cultured survey of the subject cast in a popular rather than philosophic mould. It struck shrewdly at some defects in the utili-

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tarian theory of education and was rich in fine appreciations of what humanity owes to literature and the poetic use of the imagination, and in eloquent appeals to the moral idealism involved in a spiritual conception of life. The audience applauded at the close with true American fervour, though perhaps it was as much respect for the high character and distinction of the speaker as for the speech that called forth the demonstration. It was a cultured academical audience, partly made up of alumni and literary associations from New York, and listened with respectful, benevolent appreciation to all the speakers, though without receiving, I think, any very profound impression. It was a quiet conference compared with anything I had seen in the States, the speakers being all of one mind and the subject not exciting much buoyancy of tone. But as the evidence of quiet convictions it was a decided success. At its close you heard on every side from deans and dignitaries the comment, "all first class speeches." Women were in the majority in an audience which numbered about a thousand; as I saw them during the interval for luncheon on the lawn or round the tables in the large dining hall of the Graduate College, they were quietly even plainly dressed for American women, and rather a contrast that way to their sisters on Fifth Avenue and Broadway who favour a decidedly smart and challenging attire. Their voices were interesting, full of intelligence. President Hibben presided over the conference, sitting in the high-backed marble chair of ceremony which occupies the front centre of the rostrum in Alexander Hall; he was a refined looking figure, of thoughtful and reserved mien rather, with sensitive lines about the head and face. I was not in time to hear his address of welcome and during the rest of the proceedings—

Not o word spak he morë than was nede.

Close by the presidential throne—*ad latus*—sat Dean Andrew F. West, the head of the Graduate School and its chief organizer; a massive thick-set man with a biggish round head and square face, decisive in manner though apparently a little flurried that day with his responsibilities. It was to him, one heard, that the conception of the Conference was due. A good

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administrator, no doubt, and also one of the lights in the highly equipped classical department of Princeton, his subject being mediæval Latin. But I imagine the administrative responsibilites of the head of the Graduate College must now interfere considerably with the hours of inward devotion to be spent on Beda's *Historia Ecclesiastica* or the *Vita Sancti Severini*. My wayward fancy would keep thinking of that "amoral" Mons. Bergeret of Paris and his *Virgilius Nauticus* by way of contrast.

The Conference closed exactly on programme time, as Dean West triumphantly told the audience, and I had an hour or more to wander round the grounds during which I gathered those pleasant impressions of Princeton's halls, open sunny squares and stretches of meadow and woodland which made me think her youth fortunate in their Alma Mater. There was a healthy kind of elegance and opulence about it, of natural growth and not too formal. I don't suppose it is likely to produce that blue flower of culture which flourishes so wonderfully in the city by the Seine. Its natural product at present is just a healthy, alert and well humanized youth. Such growths as *Les Fleurs de Mal* or *Le Culte du Moi*, or the pathological refinement of the European novel would be exotics there that could appear only in feeble or fantastic imitations. One does not want such books anyway as *Le Jardin de Bérénice* or *Doktor Glas* from America, but something else which has not come yet, though perhaps it was announced in the New England literature of two generations ago. I have my doubts even if the rather woody-fibred erudition of the modern German schools, suitable as it may be to the German, gives real distinction or force to the American man; it overlays his temperament and sense of life too much. The best type of French scholarship I should think would suit him better in its way of treating learning, history and art, for that fine French sense of life which is a little over-curious and malicious in the novel just vitalizes the erudition of Boissiers and Sorels.

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Quebec and the Conscription Bill.

On July 6 at five minutes past five in the morning the Military Service Act or Conscription Bill passed the second reading in the House of Commons by a majority of 63, the vote being 118 for and 55 against it. Sir Robert Borden in moving the second reading reiterated the explanations of its character he had already given in introducing it, namely, that the Bill involved no new principle but was based on the previous Acts of 1868 and 1904, that the change in the method of operating it from the "blind chance" of the ballot to "intelligent selection" was one suited to the present needs and conditions of the country and that the principle of selection was safeguarded as to its impartiality by the establishment of tribunals which will make it "absolutely beyond suspicion." As we all know the main arguments for the measure were the necessity for effectively prosecuting the war, the need of making up the wastage sustained by the four Canadian divisions at the front and of maintaining reinforcements to relieve as far as possible their burden.

The outstanding feature of the vote was the almost complete racial division which it presented, only four French-Canadians, all supporters of the Government, voting for the Bill, while twenty-six English-speaking Liberals, many of them the most active and influential members of the party, parted company with their leader on this question. In the weeks of public discussion and debate both in Parliament and outside of it which preceded the vote, one may find some explanation of the racial division and of French-Canadian sentiment on the subject. The Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, for example, travelled over most of the constitutional and diplomatic arguments used by the speakers of his race. He was in favour of Sir Wilfrid's proposal of a referendum; he distinguished strictly between the defence of Canada and the defence of the Empire and declared the Militia Act of 1904 provided for sending troops out of Canada only in the former case. Canada was in favour of carrying the war through to the end but by voluntary methods. He had no defence for the compulsory system; every man in Canada had a right to denounce it, more

especially after the Government had promised that there would be no conscription. He and his friends were not afraid to take the unpopular stand, to swim against the current. (This last moral sublimity was rather spoiled by the Hon. Mr. Sevigny asking if the stand was unpopular in Quebec.) Mr. Lemieux then went on to declare that the present Bill put the heaviest burden on the poor and left the wealthy immune from service or sacrifice. The pressing need of the house was not conscription of blood for election purposes; he would conscript wealth, look after the needs of the poor and keep the men on the farms to produce wheat. He defended the opposition of Quebec to the Bill as based on old and respectable traditions. Quebec belonged to a minority and minorities were always jealous of their constitutional rights, but it was willing to abide by the result of a referendum. He appealed to the example of the Australian premier, Mr. Hughes, who had granted a referendum and to the fact that the first protests against the Bill had come from the representatives of labour in the English-speaking provinces. He explained the small results of recruiting in Quebec as due to an unintelligent system. General Wilson, who was at the head of military affairs in Montreal, could not speak a word of French; the Asselin battalion had been broken up; a French-Canadian who had raised one hundred men for an Ontario Highland battalion was not allowed to go to England with his men.

Many of the French-Canadian members made the debate an opportunity to speak out freely on what they considered their racial grievances. Amongst those was the Hon. Jacques Bureau. He began by declaring that "there were no people who were more in sympathy with the Allies than the French-Canadians of Quebec, and none who were more desirous of winning the war." They felt, he said, a national sympathy for the weaker powers and an equal gratitude to England for having kept her contracts under the Quebec Act. He complained of the language used by some Ontario papers towards Quebec, explained the failure of recruiting in Quebec by implying that the recruiting agents there could not speak French and rather laboured to explain the similar failure of General Lessard and Colonel Blondin. He objected to the use of the

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terms French-Canadian and English Canadian as an invidious distinction. It should be "senior Canadians" and "junior Canadians." Mr. Bureau had the usual constitutional objections to the Bill. Such legislation needed a special mandate from the people. Moreover, the Parliament being only in existence by virtue of an Imperial Act had no right to deal with the life of the subject. The French-Canadians were not going to be coerced by abuse or insults. They "did not hate but did profoundly distrust the sentiment of other parts of the Dominion." Then he poured out his grievances on the bilingual school question, and became very candid indeed in speech. "The French-Canadian," he said, "was menaced in his faith and his language, he had nothing to inspire or encourage him." He preferred to fight for self-protection at home before fighting the Hun. "We don't want to fight for liberty in Europe to create slavery at home."

A good many French-Canadian speeches were in the same strain of exaggeration. Some showed little sense of the international situation and the great issues of the war and expressed more or less strongly M. Bourassa's view that the war was of no vital interest to Canada. "Do not tell me that this is Canada's war," said Mr. Lafortune, "Canada did not make war on anybody. Canada was at peace. The statement that this is Canada's war is just mere imagination."

Outside of Parliament many of the French-Canadian papers were still more outspoken. There were notable exceptions, *L'Événement*, *Le Canada*, *Le Soleil*, *La Patrie* being moderate in tone, even where they were critical. "It is a hard necessity," says *L'Événement* speaking of the Conscription Bill, "that we are henceforward to share with the other generous-minded nations that are serving the same sacred cause. It is the ransom of glory and we hope with all our heart, it is the price of the victorious peace that we all desire. If the war is to last two or three years more—which is probable—there are few Canadian families that will not soon have a son on the battlefield. Still we are fortunate even in these sad circumstances, to be able to say that our territory is not invaded and that the pirates have spared our coasts. In the meantime the only word we can write is the *sursum corda*

of the hours of sacrifice and expiation." Very different is the tone of the nationalist press which here and there is rather exultant over the fulfilment of its prophecies of evil from Canada's participation in the war. Did we not predict, writes Pierre Labrosse in *Le Nationaliste*, "that one of the fatal consequences of Canada's participation in the war would be the conscription for Canadians?" "What blood must flow to redeem the signature appended to the famous cablegram of 1st January, 1916! In what way shall we pay the hypothecation of blood that the premier consented to that day without saying anything to us?" Some of the newspapers advocated dissolution of the confederation. "Let us kill the octopus of Confederation," writes *La Croix*. The *Idéal Catholique* raises the question seriously: "In many quarters it is being asked whether autonomy could effectively help the French-Canadians to spread through the English provinces of the West and Ontario. Our voices under autonomy would be indisputably stronger because more independent and less hampered by the shackles that our enemies might put upon us here by threatening us with severe penalties if we dare to speak too loudly and strongly. Free in our actions, fearing no more the Anglo-Saxon rancour, we could easily, under the régime of Lower Canada, make the majority in Ontario listen to reason. We should have for this purpose some excellent means: the tariff, the customs duties, and the right of passage through our territory by our river and railways, which we could, if need be, refuse to Upper Canada." That article represents, I suppose, what may be called clerical opinion on the bilingual question, but it would probably not have been written in that strain, without the excitement caused by the Conscription Bill.

Le Gulletin, a Montreal weekly, talks in a wild way of blood, revolution and revolvers. Sir Robert Borden, who I am sure does not strike any one as a ferocious individual, is represented as "an ogre" hungering for Canadian blood. "Borden and his accomplices," it writes, "propose to meet resistance against conscription, by the force of guns. Revolvers and other guns will be there to reply. It means civil war, along

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with real war. And, then, will break out the most bloody revolution that Canada has ever witnessed."

At public meetings the same strain was sounded. At an anti-conscription meeting in Hochelaga ward, Mr. Tancrede Marcil, quoting Mr. L. T. Gauthier's speech in the House of Commons, warned Sir Robert Borden that if conscription were imposed on Canada there would be "breakage" The duty of the hour, he said, was to face not the Boches in Europe but the *enemies* nearer at hand." No wonder Mr. Carvell declared in the House that "such speeches made him seriously pause and wonder whither Canada was drifting."

We may well ask if all this excited and extravagant speech reflects correctly any mass of popular opinion in Quebec province. It is very easy to note the exaggerations, Mr. Lemieux's statement, for instance, that British Columbia is ready to rise against conscription because a Labour meeting formulated a hasty resolution against it, as Labour at first did in England, or Mr. Bureau's assertion that all Irish-Canadians were opposed to conscription—an assertion corrected by so good an authority as the Hon. Mr. Doherty. Of course the people of Quebec dislike the idea of conscription. So do the people of Ontario and the West on principle, but on the whole the latter accept it as a measure of necessity and the only way of equalizing justly the strain of the war. They are in better touch perhaps with the international situation, with the opinion and feeling of the English-speaking world whether in London or New York; they are readier to share its sentiment, they are readier to share its fate. It is no peculiar fate which threatens French-Canadians in the Conscription Bill; it is that which Ontario and the rest of Canada and the United States and Great Britain have submitted to as the price to be paid for freedom. But the French-Canadian leaders have virtually pronounced for the isolation of their race. They speak in a manner which is cutting them off alike from the sympathy and traditions of the British Empire, the great English-speaking world and old France in the hour of its extremity. They seem not to understand the diminished life which that eventually means for them.

But does the tone of the revolutionary speeches and writ-

ings I have quoted really reflect the deeper mind and will of the French-Canadians in general I have my doubts about it. For one thing, what I see of the Habitants of Quebec inclines me to think that although they would vote probably to a man against conscription, they are not at all likely to be led into any revolutionary high-jinks by M. Bourassa or Mr. Marcil or any one else. They have a benevolent interest in Bourassa but they are not so much taken in by his exaggerations as he perhaps thinks. It seems to be more the intellectuals and the youth of the cities that Bourassa stirs into excitement. There can be no mistaking, for example, the spirit that underlay the tumultuous demonstrations of young French-Canadians in Montreal against recruiting meetings. It is a little absurd of M. Lemieux and others to charge the failure of recruiting in Quebec to bad methods, when in Montreal, a city half English in population, recruiting meetings were interrupted and even French-Canadian recruiters had difficulty in obtaining a hearing. That was before conscription was mooted, at least officially, and I am afraid it was a sincerer expression of sentiment than the general professions of loyalty we hear from some politicians. But I would not lay too much stress even on such demonstrations. Youth tends naturally to extreme opinions, and the most eminent leaders of the race though they deplored and deprecated such tendencies showed a certain timidity in combating them, a lack of real energy. The campaign against Bourassa was not a vigorous one.

There are not wanting signs either that the educated French-Canadian is aware that much of this fierce talk is mere effervescence. *Le Pays* is a radical newspaper of anti-clerical tendencies. In its issue of the 26th May after a leading article in which it warns the English Canadians against trying German "frightfulness" in Quebec (How absurd that sounds to one!), it has some sensible rebarks on the possibility of educating the French-Canadians as to the issues of this war: "En s'y prenant bien on obtiendrait tout ce qu'on peut désirer des Canadiens-français." *Le Pays* has a second front page article in which it says with moderation enough that "the question of conscription is a big question in which there is room for the most different, the most opposite opinions. And

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it adds, each of these opinions has a right to expression. But it concludes the article with a sharp reproof of such manifestations as that of the crowd that broke the windows of *La Presse* as a paper that was showing too much favour to the proposals of the Government. The closing paragraph is particularly significant and takes rather a wide sweep in its reference to French-Canadian demonstrations in general on the subject of the war: "In short," it says, "these breakings of windows, these exaggerations of speech, these Barnum-like performances which will not in the least advance the anti-conscription movement, will make us lose place in the esteem of outside peoples and will confirm the opinion so many have of our defective narrow mentality, still that of an Indian. We shall have to pay for all that in the future, in one form or another. And our clergy may prepare themselves for a terrible accounting for what is happening at this time."

And what of him the old leader who has so long been the recognized leader both of the Liberal party and of the French-Canadian race, whose thoughts have probably dwelt longer and more deeply on the question of racial harmony than on any other — how is he ending? No one could mistake the whole-heartedness with which at the beginning of this war Sir Wilfrid Laurier supported Canada's participation in the war. His slogan was virtually if not literally: "Win the war, nothing else matters at present." It was no doubt mainly the heart of the man of French race that spoke so warmly; at least that was the way in which his speeches to French-Canadian audiences sounded. France for a time was in dire extremity and Britain in spite of the strenuous opposition of Radicals and Pacificists had taken the field with her. Mayor Mederic Martin in joyous enthusiasm hoisted the two flags over the City Hall of Montreal. It was a great opportunity to bring the two races nearer each other in a cause which united in the closest way the interests and the fate of the French race and the British Empire. How was that opportunity lost, how did it come to diminish gradually and finally give place to a more embittered division of the races in Canada than perhaps was ever seen before. For one thing, the danger to France seemed before long to lessen. Before the first year of the war

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was over both French and British leaders and writers began to speak of victory as certain. The view, industriously spread abroad by the Germans, that the war was planned by England and was being continued by her in her own interests began to substitute itself for the first kindly feeling. "This is England's war," M. Bourassa began to reiterate with special emphasis.* You would think now from the speeches of some French-Canadians that the crisis was past for France or that they were indifferent to her fate. They do not see the signs of the great nervous exhaustion there, they do not seem to realize the significance of Joffre's simple words: "Send us men"; they did not hear, as Mr. Carvell did, that unuttered refrain which sounded all through René Viviani's speech: "For God's sake, come over and help." M. Bourassa only saw commonplaces in it. Then some one began to think it was a good time to make a great fight on the bilingual question, the Quebec legislature voting supplies for the campaign and the Nationalist writers and speakers rising to a great height of fury on the subject and of course evoking replies from the other side, though not, I think, of virulence from any responsible quarter. Then the feeble recruiting in Quebec, (out of 300,000 Canadian enlistments only 14,000 French-Canadians and only 5,400 of these from Quebec) gave rise unhappily to discussions and comments which might have been spared, for have we not simply to accept the fact that the French-Canadian has not the same feeling, as a rule, about the war as the English-Canadian? If the war had ended after two years I do not think English-Canadians would have bothered in the least about the

*There is a special sense in which this is England's war, as there is a special sense in which it is Russia's war, France's war, Italy's war, and the war of the British Empire in general. But it is none the less true that it is also the war of democratic freedom against a gigantic conspiracy to overthrow it in the interests of a race which has other ideals. "There is only one great question to-day," said Francesco Nitti, head of the Italian war mission to the United States, "and that is whether German militarism or allied democracy shall survive. Both cannot. *Anything which confuses this issue is hostile.*" President Wilson said the same thing when he declared that the United States had entered the war "to make the world safe for democracy."

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disproportion, but now that the strain is lasting so long and has become severer than was expected, a new question arises, that of making it reasonably equal on all.

I have no doubt Sir Wilfrid would gladly have avoided all those irritating questions and been content to give a reasonable support to all the Government measures for prosecuting the war. He has not led in bringing them forward and he has not led in suppressing or eliminating them. He has had to accept a situation which has been created by others; we might almost say it has been fouled for him by others. He seems to have hesitated for a time over the matter of conscription. M. Bourassa was already screaming for him to declare where he stood and warning his followers to keep a lookout on him. But he finally took shelter under the strictly formal or constitutional aspects of the question and voted against the Bill on the grounds that the Militia Act in his interpretation was meant only to repel invasion, that the Parliament was moribund and incomplete, that Sir Robert Borden had said at a previous stage that there would be no conscription, and that the Bill was of such a nature, of such importance, that it ought not to be passed without a mandate from the country. He therefore moved for a referendum. He had not been quite so scrupulous when he imposed the North West Autonomy Bill on a surprised and doubtful country and on reluctant colleagues. Nevertheless, one recognizes that this line of constitutional objection is very natural to Sir Wilfrid. As the leader of a racial minority and a disciple of the old English Liberalism he was in his earlier period a devout constitutionalist. A strict constitutionalism had once been regarded as the great safeguard against the arbitrary will of kings and was still prized as a barrier against the oppressive will of majorities and the machinations of a party in power. The new democracies of to-day seem to hold it in less reverence. The idea that the will of the people at any time makes law and constitutes law has secretly undermined it and the democracies have a loose but not altogether unwarranted idea that no Government entirely dependent for its power on the votes of the people would act except in accordance with what they think to be the will of the people. We see all around us

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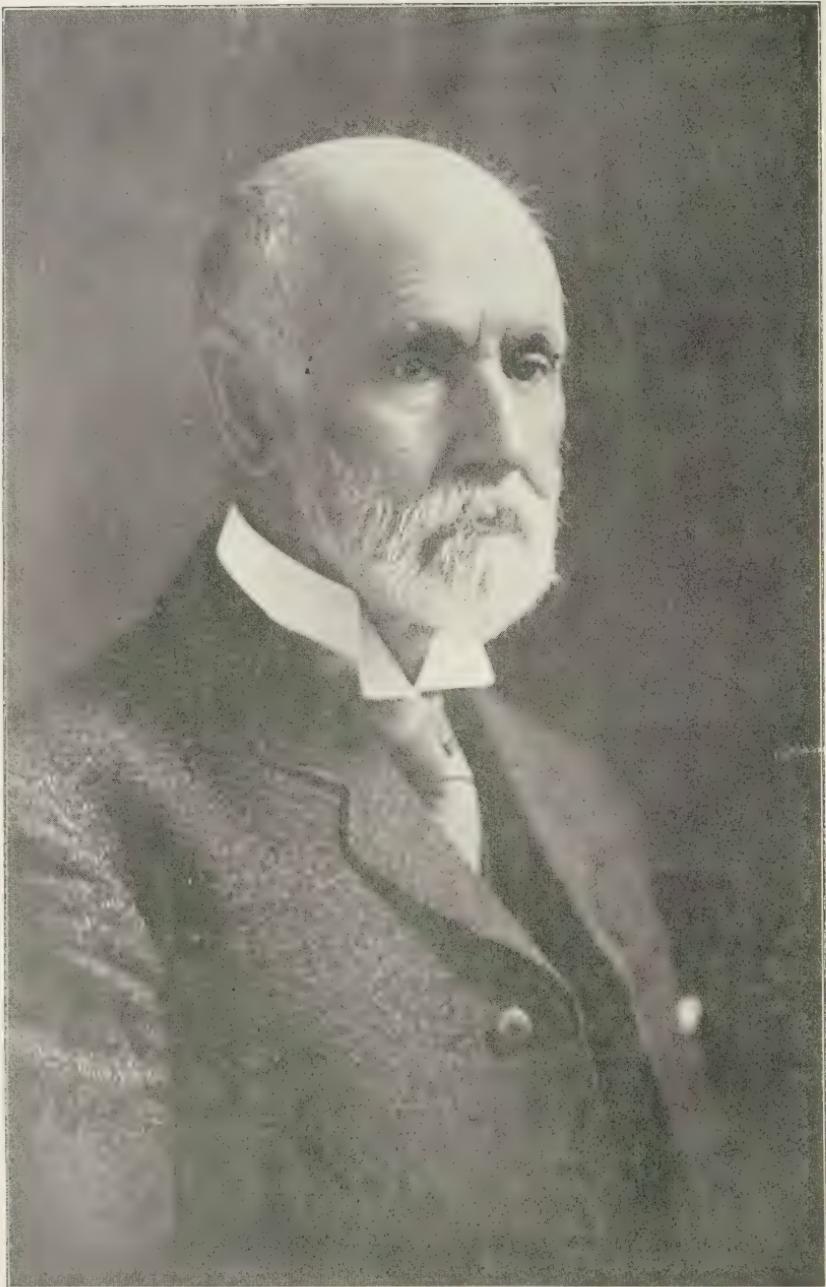
that they mostly show great unconcern at arbitrary measures on the part of their Governments which once would have raised a tumult of apprehension and protest. In any ordinary time or in any ordinary situation I would have great respect for a display of the old constitutionalism especially on the part of a racial minority. But the present time is no ordinary time but a time of utmost effort and strenuous conflict on the issue of which will depend the future character of our civilization. It is a time when Governments must lead with decision and act promptly. In a terrific war like the present one the Government may know more about the situation than it can tell the people. It knows more about the conditions here and at the front than the ordinary citizen can. In such a case the referendum would only be an appeal to ignorance, to racial jealousy and animosity, and to the desire of average human nature to escape high calls of this kind. One may consider, therefore, the constitutional attitude of the French-Canadian leaders to be natural to them and the legitimate defence of a minority in the circumstances and yet think it no time to stand on constitutional niceties. And it may fairly be added that Quebec itself has shown no great respect for constitutionalism in attempting to invade and nullify the right of another province to control its educational system

Every one must have sympathy with the position of those Liberals who felt obliged to part company with their leaders on this subject. Their attitude was most ably defined by speeches like those of Mr. Carvell, Dr. Clark and Mr. Hugh Guthrie, speeches which really had an unusual ring of sincerity and honest thought. What Mr. Guthrie said about the difficulty of putting the Conscription Bill into operation by one party and the need of a Coalition for this purpose is well worth considering. But the real difficulty lies with forces in Quebec which Sir Wilfrid does not control. Dr. Clark as usual had the sharpest and most shining sentences on the subject. "The strength of the measure," he said, "was that it put Canada on all fours with Great Britain, the United States and every other belligerent nation." Mr. Guthrie had disclaimed the referendum as no true weapon of responsible government; Dr. Clark challenged it as the indescribably mean idea of

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taking "the opinion of the people at home as to what was to happen on the firing line, when by no possible device could the full opinion of the men at the front be secured." And there is some weight in the argument in these days when war takes half the fit men of the nation into the battlefield. Praise from a member of an opposite party is usually doubtful praise, but I have never been so closely attached to any party that I was not delighted by anything I thought good done by either and ready to blame anything I thought bad done by either. I do not mean to imply that the English-speaking Liberals who voted with Laurier were not conscientious in their opinion when I say that the action of the Liberals who parted company with him was of that kind which gives a nation moral confidence in itself.

JAMES CAPPON.



THE LATE DEAN DUPUIS.

Queen's Quarterly.

VOL. XXV October, November, December, 1917

No. 2

IN MEMORIAM.

AN old pupil of the late Professors Dupuis and Fletcher (Professor W. L. Grant, now overseas) has sent me some notes and reminiscences of their work in Queen's as furnishing material for a more formal article which he requested me to write. But his notes seemed to me too good and fresh in themselves and too genuine an expression of an old pupil's affection for the men and the institution alike to be used in that way by another hand. I will very willingly, however, add some words of my own by way of introduction to those interesting reminiscences of his with their piquant anecdotes which I am sure will be a delight to every old student of Queen's.

NATHAN F. DUPUIS.

I have not the least qualification to describe or estimate Professor Dupuis' work in the world of mathematics. The higher region of mathematics is no very common field of knowledge amongst literary men, and it was D'Alembert I think who spoke of a great mathematician as one whose labours were understood by only five or six men in Europe. But I have heard high mathematical authorities say that Dupuis' two works on geometry, and particularly the work on Solids, were masterpieces in the way of presenting the subject to students; not only were they new and original in method, but they were admirably fitted for the purposes of the teacher in their lucidity and selection of matter. Indeed, one could easily recognize the fine mathematical quality of Dupuis' mind in all he did. In his public lectures, in his speeches in Senate or Council, even in his private expression of opinions there was the same precision, the same calm objectivity and well ordered sequence in

the reasoning, even the same clear and careful definition of his aim with its limitations at starting which characterize mathematical demonstration in the class-room. All the elements that entered into his judgment even in a business matter were always as clear in his mind as the factors in an algebraic problem. Even in trying situations his precision and grasp did not desert him. I have seen him rise, a quiet little figure, during an unexpected discussion—near the end of it, he was never very forward in speaking unless it fell to him as a duty—when opinions were still a little confused and finding themselves, so to speak, and deliver in clear and simple terms the reasons, always relevant, always weighty, which determined his judgment at least. If he was not perfectly clear about the matter he sat silent with much equanimity. He had none of the weakness which makes a man speak for the sake of speaking, nor even because others might expect him to do so. I do not remember ever having seen him attempting, as other senior members would occasionally, to balance and conciliate conflicting opinions in a perturbed debate with the view of concluding in some judicious and politic compromise. That was not his line, nor had he the psychological subtlety for such work. He might at times hesitate between two different courses, but it was not usually apparent; if he did, the *pros* and *cons* of both were very clear to him; there was little penumbra or vaporous floating margin of intuitions and presentiments in his mind. I have often heard Principal Grant, who was a man of inspirations, say: “I feel it in my bones,” or “it is in the back of my head,” but Dupuis never.

Another quality of mind which he possessed in an eminent degree seemed to me to belong more to the man of practical science which he also was as well as a mathematician. What I mean is the highly practical and scientific way in which he dealt with the questions of daily life and work and the facts of life in general as far as he concerned himself with them. His counsel was of the kind that is pretty sure to bring results. He might be too rigid at times in his view and leave out of account the often illogical sensibilities of human nature, but he was never extravagant nor eccentric and never embarrassed action by over-refined or paradoxical discourse.

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The calm objectivity of judgment in Dupuis showed itself morally in his uncompromising respect for truth, for the facts as he knew and saw them. He had much moral courage and I believe would have addressed an audience of Billy Sunday's, if he had properly prepared for it, but he was not a man to be tempted into dazzling parts that did not suit him. When Principal Grant died, Dupuis for a time was acting Principal, Dr. Watson being then absent on leave. He was very successful, especially on account of the great respect the students (who showed an admirable spirit in that trying time) paid to his admonitions. His life socially had a character of great simplicity and, when I knew him first, of an unassuming, perhaps excessive frugality. He was rarely seen even at the larger social gatherings in the University circles and I never met him in the more intimate smokes and palavers of those days. It was not that he was churlish or declined advances, but he was by habit very much of a self-contained man and went about his own business without seeking much of society. Perhaps his best relations were with his favourite students; he was emphatically a teacher and was at his best both socially and morally, in the relation of the professor to his students. His life was spent contentedly in the quiet intensity of problems proper to the mathematical teacher, in that steady, conscientious performance of the daily task which characterized him, in the preparation of text-books (*Plane Trigonometry* and *Astronomy*) distinguished like his earlier ones by much individuality of treatment, and in occasional public lectures generally on astronomical subjects. In his earlier days he also did a great deal of work amongst the schools of the district as an evening lecturer in chemistry. With his admirable lucidity of statement and illustration he was very successful in giving an interesting and even popular character to these lectures without descending from scientific dignity and solidity of treatment. He did not show much interest in the modern problems of higher mathematics, good mathematicians have told me, though he had partly divined some of the later processes in the course of his work, and he became impatient if the discussion of them was forced. I give the facts but don't know enough of mathematics to interpret them.

Did he consider it an unfruitful field as one might well do in the case of some modern developments of research, or had he never had time to carry forward his researches in that direction? He liked to use his remarkable constructive talent both in work for the University and at home. It was just a recreation for him, he once said to me. But this talent of his was of no small aid to Principal Grant and Queen's when the Faculty of Applied Science was being established, particularly in the equipment of the Mechanical Laboratory. Queen's financial means were very limited then and Professor Dupuis' inventive genius was taxed to the utmost. He took his share also along with the Principal and Dr. Goodwin in the initial organization of the Mining School. I cannot describe his part precisely; he always spoke as if he had had uphill work to get the matter started at all. No doubt Principal Grant realized the grave issues involved in that first step away from the old lines and the old constituency of Queen's, but of course it was his influence and able management of the situation that obtained the funds, secured aid from the Provincial Government, and cleared the path of the many difficulties connected with the establishment of what was officially an independent institution yet one mixed up with Queen's affairs in many ways. For some years Dupuis as Dean of Science presided at the meetings of the Mining School, but the official Director was Dr. Goodwin.

One may realize from all these calls made upon him, and all nobly responded to, what a busy and useful life that of Professor Dupuis was. He was really a man of remarkable ability exercised in a very quiet and unobtrusive way; for he was perfectly innocent of all the modern arts of *réclame* and self-advertisement.

This life so admirably simple and concentrated in its main aspects gave a dignity to his character which was felt immediately by all who approached him. He was what is sometimes called a self-made man, he had made his way from the position of a clockmaker's apprentice by his own efforts and he was perfectly content with the lot in life which had fallen to him. I never saw any trace of disquieting ambitions in him, nor even—what is commoner at a certain age—

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the ghosts of such. He was not, of course, altogether without his naivetes and foibles, especially those that go with great simplicity and directness of character. When I first knew him—he was then about 50—his chief recreations were painting and playing the violin. There was poetry in his soul, like Mill he had read Wordsworth with appreciation and liked music, but it was a sort of detached function in him which did not interfere with the calm rationalism directing his intelligence.* That is only another way of saying there was nothing of the artistic temperament in him; his art was only a curious but not uncommon attempt on the part of a highly intelligent non-aesthetic nature to complete itself by contact with the Muses.

I still remember very well the first time he showed me his landscapes, those landscapes with the solid, unvarying, unshaded green of their fields and the mathematical severity of the position in which the trees stood to each other. And his manner of playing *Semiramide!* the grave laborious face and the stiffly correct and conscientious elbowing out of the voluptuous melodies of Rossini. He had wonderful precision of hand which showed itself in his drawing and remained with him to the last. At eighty years of age he amused himself in reproducing in a pen and ink sketch a landscape by Corot, the usual lake scene with trees. I saw it the other day. It showed amazing precision of touch and fineness of hand for a man of his age. The labour must have been great, every feature being reproduced without any attempt at translation. But of course the peculiar charm of Corot—the feathery lightness of his sprays and his soft veiled effects would simply not go into the medium Dupuis had used. His aesthetic sense was restricted and rested almost entirely on a sense of external arrangement and proportion. Dupuis was chairman, I think, or at least a prominent member of the Grounds Committee,

*Except perhaps when he lectured on the heavens. Then the soul of the old astronomer was usually moved—for one brief paragraph—to describe in full literary phrase and rolling periods the “nightly pageant of the stars.”

at the period of Queen's greatest expansion, and that fact has left its mark on the commodious and convenient but coldly aesthetic disposition in general of Queen's grounds and buildings. There are no warm touches or haunting corners there.

He was entirely the man of his own day and generation. He drew few lessons from history and only in connection with the progress of the sciences, particularly astronomy, which he frequently used as a battering ram against what he called the pseudo-theology of the Church. Many will still remember some highly radical lectures on Delitzsch's Assyrian discoveries which he gave the Alumni Conference. Tradition in higher or lower forms had little value or meaning for him, his opinion being that our time did all things and understood all things better than any that had preceded it. His faith in the social progress made by society was as unclouded as Macaulay's[†] and had been disturbed neither by the subtle criticism of Carlyle nor by socialistic discontents. His strongly scientific conception of civilization made him unsympathetic for the famous comparisons of *Past and Present* and he would never have thought of comparing the government of an old Greek or Italian city in its best days, or a town of Flanders in the great period, with the unabashed corruption and exploitation of the public which the *Star* has for years been denouncing in Montreal and the American papers have revealed in many of their big cities; in Philadelphia, for instance, where the Mayor and two high officials were summoned to trial the other week for bringing New York gunmen to the city where they 'shot up' a whole ward and murdered a political opponent. But if he had read of such doings in a page of Sismondi he would have drawn large conclusions from it, as we all do, as to the insecurity and discomfort of society. I don't know that he ever read Ruskin's comparison of old and modern Geneva, but I am inclined to think he would only have regarded it as another instance of literary and philosophic imbecility. He was a solid piece of work and all of a piece.

[†]In Macaulay's earlier period at least. See his essay on *Southey's Colloquies*.

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I am not sure whether it was instinct or calculation, but his life seemed to be planned in a high degree so as to be independent of small social supports and aids. He stood on his native worth and was not a man to sue for favours at any time or ask for anything but what was clearly his by right. His tone and conversation amongst colleagues were kindly enough but serious, rational without play of fancy or effusiveness. I never saw him approach a colleague with an expansive joke or a friendly tap on the shoulder. He was not contentious, but if he thought the case was one for just retaliation, there was a grim scientific equanimity in his way of carrying it into effect which had its amusing side at least for the spectator. Once when his next-door neighbour had taken what he considered an indelicate liberty in opening up some window commanding his dining-room, Dupuis retorted by setting up a huge ugly wall of rough wooden boards between them as high as the law would allow—about 30 feet I think—completely blocking the said neighbour's light and view in one direction, and of course totally destroying the aesthetic effect of both houses. He showed it to me and explained its purpose with most evangelical tranquility, and I perceived that the contest was to end in that neighbour being reduced to subjection.

The frugality of many years had at length made him very well off—for a professor at least—and there came a time when with his usual good practical sense he consented to relax the severe simplicity of his life. Old age needs a softer bed, as that wise old Epicurean, Horace, advises:

Tractari mollius ætas
Imbecillā volet.

In these later days he had his automobile and built a garage, and even flowered out into gayish waistcoats and choice ties, though not more than became a neat and dignified old gentleman. He made more than one tour in Europe also, but perhaps he was rather old to adapt himself easily to the unheated bedrooms of English and Continental hotels or to relish macaroni al sugo and sauerkraut. "They don't know what comfort is over there," he said to me on his return. But he went back again after a year or two and it was better on his second

journey; he found more that he liked and spoke with the highest appreciation of the sciences in Oxford, particularly, I think, the pure chemistry. Of course, he visited the art galleries of Europe but saw little to admire in the treasures that are most characteristic and unique in their collections, the Raphaels and Titians and the great art schools of the past. But he showed me a picture he had brought home, by a modern Belgian painter, a public fountain scene with commonplace enough figures of Italian *contadine*. "I consider that much superior to Raphael and those old fellows," he said to me with a certain decisiveness of tone. The intellectual honesty of the man spoke there as well as his somewhat defective relation to the culture of the ages. It is true the great Sir Joshua once felt the same way in the Vatican galleries, but after thinking the matter over eventually came to the conclusion that the defect was not in Raphael. But, after all, these things lay rather outside of Dupuis' special sphere of work and he was great enough to carry such naivetes without detriment to the strong impression of solidity and worth which he left on one. It was always very possible, however, for a man of purely literary and classical training to fail to appreciate his high intellectual quality, for that showed itself best and in its most unmistakable form in his remarkable grasp and treatment of scientific ideas.

He was as I have already said a man of his own day, beyond it in his ideas of the strictly scientific ameliorations possible in our social organization and perhaps a little behind it in his less developed sense of its spiritual movement and of the moral and social thunder-clouds blowing up from the deeps. A sound Liberal of the older scientific utilitarian type, with all its humanitarian pacifist and utilitarian principles well in the front of his head and like all that school a decided opponent of theological influences on every day of the week, except Sunday, when he attended church with the punctilious regularity which characterized all he did. He took his part in the movement which led to the removal of the denominational connections of the University with a vigour which was somewhat different in its inspiration from that of its other chief promoters. But

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though he was highly radical in his opinions, there was a wise circumspection about him which kept him far from all noisy or fanatical forms of expressing them. He had full confidence in the steady march of the ages. Probably they will neither altogether disappoint his sanguine expectations nor altogether confirm them.

JOHN FLETCHER.

Professor Fletcher left Queen's for Toronto University in the later period of his career; but as Principal Grant said at the time, with the terrible frankness he could use on occasion, we had had the best of him. But I know he missed Fletcher sadly and Mrs. Fletcher, too, with her graceful ways and sharp piquant little thrusts which she dealt out freely to all of us. Fletcher belonged to Queen's before its greater expansions in Applied Science and Mining. The old Senate, then practically the one ruling and administering body in the University, consisted solely of the professors in Arts and Theology, a compact and homogeneous little family, free and frequent in their social intercourse with each other and in very intimate relations with the Trustees, both those in the city and those outside. When the outside Trustees, the majority of whom were then clergymen and mostly old graduates of Queen's, came to Kingston for their periodical meetings, it was almost as much a social as a business occasion. Fletcher was not exactly native to this society either by origin or training, but his pleasant disposition and considerate ways, and a fine sense of humour, pensive and ironic, which played over his conversation, had made him a favourite with all of them.

As Professor of Latin at Queen's he came into contact with nearly all the students of those days, and Latin had then a prestige which it shared only with mathematics and philosophy. The classes were not so large as they became afterwards, and the first thing that struck me in him was the very exact note he took of the individual progress and characteristics of his students. Long after a student had left him he could tell exactly the qualities and defects which his exercises in Latin composition or his oral translation had shown.

His intellectual interests lay largely, almost exclusively, in classical and English literature, but all that he professed to take interest in there was a real part of him, went into the blood, so to speak, and flowered in his life and speech. His chief characteristic intellectually was, as is clearly enough indicated in Mr. Grant's reminiscences, a fine and highly trained literary sense which made him a delightful commentator on favourite authors like Virgil and Cicero. It was much the same faculty in a lower but not less useful application which gave a stimulating and inspiring quality to his teaching of Latin composition. He had given great attention to that subject and before he left Queen's had published, in collaboration with another, a text-book on composition which is well known in our schools and colleges.

The general value of the classics and particularly the right of Latin to its place in our Universities is much under discussion just now. Of the many claims that can be urged in favour of Latin, it is not the least, I think, that it offers the teacher great and for various reasons almost unique facilities for awakening and developing the literary sense. That will always be a very vital part of the classical teacher's work, and it was a very notable merit in Professor Fletcher's. If I were to judge by his conversation, he did not make any great use of analysis for this purpose but worked more by direct and concrete appeal to the aesthetic sense of the student. In this work he made a great use of English poetry, especially the older English classics with which he was very well acquainted; in particular he loved the older lyrists with their simpler cadences and more direct natural appeal. I have often heard him quote such things as the Elizabethan Ode to the Nightingale, as he called it,

King Pandion he is dead,
All thy friends are lapped in lead,

* * * *

Words are easy, like the wind
Faithful friends are hard to find.

I am inclined to think that in his heart he preferred his Elizabethan and Caroline lyrics to much of the more highly perfumed even if more famous verse of the modern aesthetic

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schools. He had a style of his own in reciting, very simple, no *emphase* or declamation, but full of quiet feeling. I am highly impatient of poetic quotations from any one as a rule but I loved Fletcher's.

He had a native sweetness of temper and friendliness in intercourse which endeared him both to his colleagues and his students. We all felt it as a serious personal loss when he went to Toronto, and Queen's missed a personality which was a genial cementing influence in the life of the constituency. At Convocation time I can remember his drawing room filled in the evening with a circle of trustees and professors, vaporous with tobacco smoke and animated with conversation which varied from oft-told tales of the old Snodgrass days to confidential but informal discussion of University matters. I will not say in these austere times what other elements contributed to the social flow. Dr. Watson's house on the other side of the Principal's was a similar resort, especially the old study with its comfortable fire-place always going. Occasionally the "All-Highest" himself would step in, very unceremoniously, from next door, producing a momentary disturbance in the flow of soul as a new personality will do, but soon creating with his own overflowing spirits new currents of talk and laughter. Fletcher was not a great talker and never sought to capture the conversation, but every now and then a daintily feathered shaft, sometimes rather prickly would be shot into the conversation from his corner, and he had an easy pleasant way of relating his experiences which was the essence of good conversation. The quiet charm of his personality was always felt at such gatherings as I have mentioned. But it was perhaps a delicate flower to transplant to a new and different environment. He was not an aggressive or self-assertive man and wore none of that heavy logical armour that carries one, often with most deceptive credit, through formal discussions; he rather avoided that kind of discussion which becomes a controversy and would generally waive off such with some Parthian shaft of retreat, some quiet piece of irony uttered with the slight Yankee drawl and intonation which he had at such times. Formal speeches were not common in the old Senate of Queen's in these days, but I do not remember any from

Fletcher. In the discussions there his opinions were always valuable, always a clear and helpful contribution to the matter under consideration, his knowledge of details was usually exact and readier than that of most of us, and his thoughtful impartial mind often did justice where others had overlooked it. I know that in those days I was generally quite content as a young professor to follow Fletcher's lead on some difficult question of the Calendar or arrangement of the classes, I had great confidence in the justice and entire impartiality of his judgment. He was an amiable spirit but not of the kind that makes weak concessions in work or duty. He rather leant towards a strict enforcement of academic rules and he was one of those whose influence steadily tightened the rules and raised the standard for matriculation. We had been accustomed to make exemptions in the case of certain classes of students and it was mainly Fletcher who along with Dupuis managed after some debate to get the rule made absolute. His reasons as usual were clear and practical, to avoid, namely, improper competition with schools and complaints from the school-masters. I remember I opposed it with an amendment in favour of exempting students over 22 years of age, in order to preserve a certain class of older Church students of whom we had then quite a number. Grant wavered but finally went in favour of the rule being made universal. It was modified, however, a few years afterwards. But that type of student never came back. It may be that the times were changing and the type ceasing to appear.

Mr. Grant has quoted with some qualifying remarks the opinion of a colleague that Fletcher was of too yielding a disposition. He was certainly very ready to recognize the claims of others, even when they might stand in the way of his own. He had neither the vanity nor overweening self-confidence of a man on whom the opinion of a reasonable and weighty majority of his equals makes no impression. He would hesitate and reconsider and perhaps cease to press the point. Unless the point were a clear and practical one I think he had a latent scepticism in him as to the value in general of men's calculations and forecasts—his own included. But he would state his own opinions firmly

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and the other side would never get off without giving fair answers to his objections. In such a case he was not a man to fight to the last ditch; neither was Dupuis, who had certainly nothing molluscous about him; nor in fact have any of the best and wisest men I have known been of that special type. My experience of the particular pronounced type of fight-in-the-last-ditch man is that he is generally an extremely qualified blessing to the community which owns him. It is too often personal ambition or interests, or rivalry and *amour propre* that harden opposition, but there were no such cankers of the mind in Fletcher and even when he yielded to a strong personality it came far more from his sense of the justice of it than anything else.

Fletcher's tone in debate was mild but firm; his judgments were given with his mind wholly on the thing, not on his own performance or personal advantage; his reasons were always practical and to the point; they had to be considered. It is true he was easy in some things. What between his good-nature and his sense of duty and order he would allow the heavy end of a piece of work to be thrust on him by a less sensitive colleague. I remember remonstrating with him on his allowing himself to be saddled with a tedious bit of work which should rather have fallen to the other man, but he only remarked in his mildly ironic style: "It had to be done and the other fellow thinks he is too busy to do it."

This fine personality with its gifts and graces will be for long a cherished memory with many of Queen's students. But except in such memories it left little record of itself. It has been so with some fine classical teachers, Lushington, for example. They are accustomed to work mainly as annotators with a text in their hands and often cultivate the constructive synthetizing faculty but little. Fletcher's judgments and ideas were the fruit of a fine experience but he did not tend to systematize them much, at least in the complete way required for formal publication of them. Indeed there was considerable inertia about him in this respect. He never took to the platform or gave public lectures. I once badgered him for about two years to contribute some classical material to a department of "Critical Notes," which we were then maintaining in

Queen's Quarterly. He had promised, and at last to get rid of my importunities he sent me, not exactly what I wanted, but a full length article on "Cicero as Proconsul." That article, I imagine is the only literary relic we have of him. But it is no adequate expression of what was in him. A good reader will note the well formed academic style, the fine moderation of tone, the entirely practical form of judgment and the clear symmetrical distribution of topics; Fletcher, the reflective surface of Fletcher, the man of competent erudition and reading, is in all that, but his finer sensibilities and deeper impressions hardly appear in it. There is just a trace of them in two crisply humorous quotations from Shakespeare and Dr. Johnson and in that deeply sympathetic motto from Plutarch which he prefixes to the article: "A wise man, my boy, a wise man and a lover of his country." That was his real feeling about Cicero had he allowed his soul to speak and defied the Mommsens of history. But his deeper sympathies and impressions lie buried in the motto which is in flat contradiction with the two incidents he has selected to illustrate Cicero's administration and the few lines in which he gives a formal estimate of his character. I do not mean to suggest that he would have reversed Mommsen's judgment but he might have shown us something more of the Cicero he liked and appreciated. But I would not say that his life and conversation were any the poorer for this kind of suppressed development, as far as his friends were concerned. Perhaps it even helped to give him that charm of personality, that "gentle voice and brow," which Arnold describes so finely in his lines on Quillinan. Nor did his ordinary class work suffer; perhaps quite the contrary. Literary and platform activities are very satisfactory evidence of the mental energy of a professor and necessary to some extent for the credit of the University, yet the deeper and more vital they are, the more they tend to draw his attention from the plainer parts of his work. They were a galaxy of great men, or at least of great thinkers and scholars, in the Glasgow of my student days, Kelvin, Caird, Jebb, Nichol, Blackburn, yet none of them was a really good class-room teacher, though one or two of them could stimulate and inspire, Caird in particular being clear and profoundly pregnant

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in discoursing from the Chair. Ramsay, who had no great reputation as a scholar, was the only one who could handle his class socratically with vigour and whose individual knowledge of it extended beyond a few superior pupils. But in these days they trusted a good deal to the student finding his way for himself.

I have not been a visiting man for many years but curiously enough every now and then on my periodical visits to Toronto on Matriculation and Conference business I found myself in the evening a little to my own surprise ringing up Fletcher to spend an hour or two with him. I had no other relations with him than these rare visits, but the genial character of the man and the memories of the past drew me irresistibly. He was always at home and was the same man, just as kindly and genial as ever, though he suffered much at times from his eyes. Of course we talked old times, Fletcher enquiring after this one or that one in a way that made me feel what a change had taken place in the atmosphere and social circles of Queen's since his time. He would also question me about the doings at the Conferences, especially in regard to matriculation matters, in which he had always taken a great interest. "They don't ask me to these Conferences any more," he said in a quiet way and without any of the piquant humour which would once have coloured the remark. No doubt his life in Toronto was a fuller one in some respects than in Kingston, but the larger sphere had also its disadvantages for him. He had not those particular qualities which impress and impose on formal assemblies, and he sought no support from party or group interests. In such scenes he always stood back. Naturally he had tender memories of the Kingston days

When love and all the world was young.

Once as I was about to leave he said to me abruptly, but with a certain deliberation of tone: "When you see M.....n (an old colleague of the Kingston period) tell him from me that he is a liar," he even put a pretty strong adjective before the last word. I suppose I looked astonished for he was not much given to strong language of that kind, but he coolly waited some time before he explained: "He promised to come and see

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me in Toronto and he has never done it." A rather explosive not to say inarticulate form of expression for the deeper feeling in him.—*Ave atque vale, frater!*

And now I will leave our readers to enjoy Professor Grant's excellent reminiscences and anecdotes. The high lights and shadows I have put on these two portraits may not be without their use as a foil to the more Fra Angelican style of portraiture, in gold and blue, which he has used and which comes very fittingly from an old pupil and a son of Principal Grant.

JAMES CAPPON.

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THOUGH Nathan Dupuis was for many years our next-door neighbour, after I came as a small boy to Kingston, I have few reminiscences of this period. His quiet aloofness frightened my boyish mind; his children, though always kind to me, were too old to become my playmates, and the attraction of "Ned" Watson, the chief comrade of my youth, drew me toward the neighbour on the other side. But when in my first year at Queen's I entered the class in Junior Mathematics, Dupuis at once became a very real and a very sympathetic figure. He was the only perfect teacher I have ever known, and I have studied under John Watson and Edward Caird. He kept his best Honours men at full stretch, while his pellucid explanations made even such Pass men as myself feel the reality and charm of the subject. Great mental independence and clearness of thought and expression were his chief characteristics. He was the first University teacher in Canada to cut loose: even in his most elementary classes from Euclid's Elements. "Euclid was a very great man," he said to me once; "considering the age in which he lived, his compilation is a most marvellous achievement; but surely we have had some light since then; surely there are now other and more enlightening ways of approaching Geometry." And everyone of his pupils agreed with him.

This independence of mind revealed a character marked by an utter absence of pretence, and a fearless sense of duty. "He neither feared nor flattered any flesh." When his portrait was presented to him by his old students, and hung in Convocation Hall, at the close of the day I said to him that what seemed to me his most marvellous achievement as a teacher had been left unrecorded by the presenter and his other eulogists; he had taught me to like Mathematics. There came no bantering reply. "Yes," he said reflectively, after a slight pause, "there is much in even the elementary sides of the subject to appeal to the most ordinary mind." This unflinching truthfulness and high regard for his subject made him a very

unfortunate person to approach for a testimonial. The late Logie Macdonnell told me how, after getting into the First Class in both Junior and Senior Mathematics he approached Dupuis for a testimonial, to be used in his search for a school. Dupuis put him off as long as possible, saying that he reserved such things for his Honour students, but when Logie persisted and at last cornered him, Dupuis sat down, and wrote on a half sheet of notepaper the words "I consider Mr. Logie Macdonnell competent to teach elementary Mathematics." The desired position was obtained, but without the use of this testimonial, which was however cherished for itself, if not for its usefulness.

Whereas it is an open secret that after "plucking" a student three or four times, the average Professor will, in despair or pity, finally pass him if he comes anywhere near the line, Dupuis was unbending. If the Senate chose to give a candidate his degree without Junior Mathematics, well and good; that was their affair; but he would not lower his standard, or state a falsehood. One friend of mine was for nine years plucked in Junior Mathematics, yet such was his confidence in Dupuis' absolute justice that no complaint was ever heard.

This sincerity and straightforwardness never failed. When I returned to Queen's in 1910 and became his neighbour, I congratulated him on his healthy appearance. "My arteries are hardening; I shall die in a few years of sclerosis," he replied with no more apparent emotion than if he had been enunciating a theory of coefficients. It was a fact, to be clearly set forth; and there was an end on't.

To high mathematical ability and mental grasp he united an almost marvellous dexterity. His study was full of mathematical instruments made by himself, including a wonderful clock which told not only the local time, but sidereal time, sun time, the day of the month, and a number of other things. Before becoming Professor of Mathematics he had been Professor of Physics and Chemistry, and his old pupils would tell of how in thirteen years he had never made an unsuccessful experiment. Even after his abandonment of this chair he was an invariably successful popular lecturer on physical and

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astronomical subjects, and eventually when advancing years made him give up the chair of Mathematics, he was able without a moment's interval to turn with marked success to that of astronomy.

When the School of Practical Science was founded, and for a time Carpentering Workshops were established, Dupuis, as Dean of the Faculty of Practical Science, superintended everything, and daily spent hours in drawing the most delicate designs from which his pupils might work. His study was indeed the Draughting Room of the Faculty, and though almost a septuagenarian, he rarely went to rest till long after midnight, never till any design to be used on the following day had been made absolutely complete.

At the age of 75 he became so struck by the beauty of the Rocky Mountains, through which he passed on the yearly journey to California which in later days his health made necessary, that for the first time in his life he took up water colour sketching, and quickly attained to a more than respectable proficiency.

Motoring was one of his later relaxations. On one occasion his car broke down on a lonely road some miles from the city. Investigation revealed that a certain cog-wheel was broken, and that some teeth were missing. The veteran wandered about till he found a piece of board, and with his pocket knife shaped a substitute which fitted so accurately that the car was safely brought to town at a quite adequate rate of speed.

In the class-room he was an iron disciplinarian. Not only was there in his room the hush of arduous and interested study, but he had certain rules at any deviation from which his tongue stung like a lash. So feared was he that only once in my year with him did I hear him use his gift of homely satire. He always insisted on every student wearing his gown in the class-room, a laudable custom even then falling into abeyance. On a day one daring freshman appeared gownless. In a class of 70 Dupuis spotted him in an instant. "Do you wish us to look at your new suit, Mr. _____?" he snapped; after that none of us would for a King's ransom have entered that class-room improperly attired.

Have I given the impression that he was austere, more of a mathematical instrument than a man? Some years ago a small girl of about five years old became interested in the stars. She was missed one morning by her parents, and after much search found standing at Dupuis' knee, in his study, while with that clearness which could see the exact difficulties of one more than seventy years his junior, "Nathan" unloosed for her the bands of Orion, and bound the sweet influences of the Pleiades.

Dupuis was succeeded as our neighbour, in the house now occupied by Professor MacClement, by John Fletcher. I first saw him as a small boy looking out of a window in the Principal's house, when Fletcher drove up from the station. I was struck, as I often was afterwards, by his quiet activity, his mastery over his limbs as he jumped out; for without being an athlete he had great physical poise and grace. The well-knit figure, the quick walk, the curious but not ungraceful trick of carrying his head a little on one side, soon became familiar. To boys such as Ned Watson and myself he became a hero, and I even tried to imitate the carriage of his head, an attempt at once negatived by my mother. He was on the whole the best lawn tennis player of a Professor's Club which flourished in the eighties, his chief opponent being Professor Watson.

As a student I came under him for four years in Senior and Honour Latin, and was his medallist. His combination of strict scholarship, literary appreciation, and kindly humanity and humour made his classes very popular. There was no need to discuss in "Fletty's" day whether Senior Latin should be compulsory; every student with any touch of literary or linguistic aptitude looked forward to it. He had a high standard of accuracy, and with all his gentleness, could be unflinchingly severe on those who thought that moral excellence should make up for mental carelessness, or that to fill the pulpit in a neighbouring village on Sunday allowed the occupant to return to College too late for Senior Latin at 10 a.m. on Monday. But though his sarcasm stung, there was always enough geniality and twinkle in it to keep the wound from mortifying.

This high standard of accuracy was one of the notes of Fletcher's character. Our exercises of Monthly Examination

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papers always came back on time, with ample and enlightening corrections. When his first book on Latin Prose was in the press I found him correcting the proof with a magnifying glass, to avoid the possibility not only of printer's errors, but even of broken or imperfect letters. Similarly I have understood that in the Senate he was the great authority on the Calendar and could always tell unerringly what was or was not allowed by that extremely and increasingly complicated authority.

But even more striking in his class was his literary skill and knowledge. He taught us that Latin Literature was a branch of the world's literature, and only to be understood as such. The meaning of Vergil or of Lucretius was reinforced by apt quotation from Milton or Wordsworth. "Quote all the English poetry you know," was one of the questions on a mock examination paper in Senior Latin which some of us once drew up. "What is the first line of *Paradise Lost*, Mr. Grant?" he once asked me. For a moment I could not recall it and sat silent. "Quote any line of *Paradise Lost*, Mr. Grant," was his next thrust, given with a subtle emphasis which my fellow-students rubbed into me for some days after.

But he never went outside his subject; he could never have inspired the doubtful compliment given by a student to the class of a present day Professor that "he gives one something of value for every class in the University." If Fletcher lectured on the *Aeneid* or on the *De Rerum Natura* he made them the centre of his work, and neither Milton or Tennyson in the former, nor his own hobby of Astronomy in the latter, ever came in save in a subordinate and relevant position.

He was long the chief guide of my boyish love of letters, and was always willing to listen sympathetically to my rhapsodies. "Read all the poetry you can while a student," he advised me once, "you may have less time in later years," advice which the years have fully justified. I introduced him to Kipling, whom I had discovered in a pirated American edition of the "Plain Tales," and we had many a talk about the magnitude of the rising star under the elms and horse-chestnuts of the University grounds.

But for all his love of letters, his love of accuracy kept him merciless to the "free" translation which brought out the general sense but burked the difficulties. To satisfy him one had to be both literal and literary.

This accuracy, taking on its literary side the form of a search and a sense for *le mot juste*, he doubtless had by nature, and it had been greatly stimulated by Oxford. Balliol set its mark deep on him. He was at once a typical Canadian and a typical Oxonian. He loved to tell little reminiscences of his Oxford days, especially of Lewis Nettleship and of Jowett. Though he never tired of praising their high standard of scholarship and their generous hospitality, he was not blind to their curious provincialism. Jowett was all through his course extremely kind to him, but never quite realized from what outlying and outlandish part of the world he came. "Good-bye, Mr. Fletcher: I am glad that you are going back to your own country; they need Balliol men in Newfoundland," was the farewell to him of the great master.

Jowett's interest in him probably dated from the *viva voce* part of the Matriculation Examination, in which Biblical knowledge of an elementary kind was a subject. Fletcher had a profound knowledge of the Bible in its remotest crannies, and when asked: "Name any one of the Judges," promptly replied, "Shamgar." "Who on earth was he?" piped Jowett, perhaps himself a little hazy as to this obscure worthy. "He slew six hundred Philistines with an ox-goad," replied Fletcher, and the Scripture Examination came at once to an end.

In his time at Queen's, Arts was even more than at present the dominant Faculty and the chief Arts Professors formed a very striking group, who to a remarkable degree combined in unity a rich diversity, and disagreed with each other without even academic irritation. On going to Toronto University in 1896, Fletcher was disappointed, and in a very real sense heart-broken to find in his beloved Alma Mater much less unity and much more irritation. At that time neither the Faculties nor their individual members were pulling together as well as they now do, and the gentle spirit of Fletcher found itself in an atmosphere of conflict deeply repugnant to him. Save for

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the society of his books, his family, and of a few friends he shut himself up more and more within himself, and though still a successful and stimulating teacher, made no such mark upon either the University or the students as he had done at Queen's. One incident is significant. At the smaller University his little parties for students had been eagerly looked forward to and had been shared in by his colleagues. To them had been invited not only his own students, but the leaders of the Athletic world and of the Alma Mater Society. When he tried to follow up this line at Toronto, a boorish colleague accused him of "trying to curry favour with the students." He might better have struck him in the face. As a member of Academic Boards and Faculties he would not fight, even for his own hand. At Queen's it had not been necessary, and he was too innately gentle to change his ways. "Fletcher hasn't the back-bone of a mollusc," said an indignant colleague, who loved the forefront of the battle, and had himself perhaps almost an excess of spine. It was unjust but it gives the reason for his comparative failure and his comparative unhappiness in the somewhat turbid atmosphere of Toronto University in those years.

Now he has gone, and has left no gentler or sweeter spirit in University life. His pupils at Queen's are middle-aged men and women now, but our memory of him is as fresh and our grief for his loss as keen as if he had been with us yesterday.

W. L. GRANT.

PROFESSOR DUPUIS AS A TEACHER OF MATHEMATICS.

WITH the death of Professor Dupuis there has passed away another of those rare spirits about whom Queen's University clung in its younger and growing days. More than fifty years ago he began his life's work on the staff of the university; and for forty-five years he gave unsparingly of the splendid powers of mind and heart with which he was so richly endowed. Many generations of students look back to-day with affection and gratitude to the time when they received from him instruction and encouragement. The following words addressed to him by the late Professor James Ross, on the occasion of the presentation of his portrait in 1901, still speak the mind of his old students,—“We assure you that while we have undoubtedly forgotten many of the formulas you have taught, we all carry in our hearts grateful recollections of the mental stimulus, the spiritual inspiration, derived from your instruction.” His attitude towards his students was always one of sympathetic, personal interest, a fact which they were not slow to recognize.

A central feature of Professor Dupuis' life was his independence of judgment. Anything that savored in the least of authority in matters of the mind was abhorrent to him. This independence gave direction to his thought and method to his work. He avoided the beaten path simply because it was beaten, on the principle that ideas, like other things, grow better in a looser soil. He saw no halo about traditional beliefs or traditional methods; and he threw them both aside unless they appealed to his inborn sense of what is best, his native common sense.

A typical and outstanding example of this is found in his work on elementary geometry. For many centuries Euclid was the standard by which all geometry in the schools was judged. It was the authority in all matters of geometrical dispute; and care was exercised that pupils should have due regard for it. Some years ago a question was eliminated

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from an examination paper, set by Professor Dupuis for Ontario teachers, on the ground that it might possibly shake the pupil's faith in Euclid as the ultimate standard. This standardization of the subject prevented freedom of thought, and was a serious restriction on its usefulness as a study in the schools. Good work was being done in geometry, but it was being done outside of the schools, and to a less extent than in other circumstances would have been expected. Writers for many years had demanded that this condition of affairs should cease. But the change was long delayed, chiefly on account of the conservatism of the British universities in connection with their matriculation requirements. When Professor Dupuis began teaching mathematics in Queen's, forty years ago, he determined that he would never teach Euclid. And he never did. His own work, *Elementary Synthetic Geometry*, contains all the material of Euclid; but in other respects it has no resemblance to that ancient work. It includes various modern generalizations and developments, in the method and arrangement of the author himself. Through this work and through his teaching in the university he exerted great influence in bringing about in Canada a change to better conditions in the teaching of geometry, a change which is still in the process.

It is a commonplace to those who knew Professor Dupuis' teaching to say that he was clear and easily understood. Two reasons for his clearness stand out prominently—first, his constant effort to keep before his students the fact that mathematical symbols are a language and have something to say, and, second, his own keen sense of the central thought in a mathematical development. These two things can be appreciated when one considers the nature of mathematics, and the tendency of the teaching of it to become mechanical and therefore lifeless. The logical processes are carried out very largely by means of symbols which are shorter than those of ordinary language. The manipulation of these symbols, in accordance with certain fundamental laws, from equation to equation, constitutes a series of logical steps. But it is clear that there is no logical process involved in these transformations unless the thought is continued throughout. To many a careless teacher, and to many a hapless student, elementary algebra is

but a juggling with the alphabet, with the purpose of seeing into how many curious forms it may be changed. Further confusion arises, even in textbooks, in the treating of a series of propositions dealing with a single topic as of equal weight. A single topic usually has a central idea, around which the other ideas may be made to gather. Students can grasp a single idea with its various connected ones much more easily than they can grasp a series of equal ideas. In Professor Dupuis' teaching there was always a meaning, or an interpretation; and ideas were always given their relative importance in an argument. A reviewer of his book, *The Principles of Elementary Algebra*, at the time of its publication, used the following words concerning it: "Its real value lies in the reliable guidance it offers to students who, having had an ordinary textbook drilling to the end of quadratics, wish to know what it was all about." His teaching can be described briefly but well by the simple statement that he told "what it was all about."

The object of his teaching was not merely to make his students able to perform certain operations, or to carry out certain processes of reasoning, but to give them a trained mind by means of these things. This was frequently emphasized by himself in connection with the mathematical training of students in the engineering courses. It is the custom in some engineering schools to restrict the mathematical training, and other training as well, to those methods and formulas which might afterwards prove useful in practise. But Professor Dupuis always insisted that the course in mathematics for such students should be educational and cultural as well as useful. This view, urged by him and by others of the pioneers of the School of Mining at Queen's, has become the tradition of the institution; and educational policy is decided in the atmosphere of this tradition.

Professor Dupuis' mind was intensely practical, theory and application being as a rule not far apart. He remarked on one occasion that if he had devoted his life to mechanical and scientific inventions he would have made a success of it. There is no doubt but he was correct in his opinion. This quality of mind had an important influence on his teaching, in

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the frequent appeals to the experience and the intuitions of the student. Until the last few decades, the basis of every branch of mathematics was empirical. The axioms of geometry were simple facts of observation, and the basis of analytical mathematics depended on the observed properties of simple numbers. But in a strictly logical process experience and intuition have no place; and recent mathematicians set about to eliminate them from the foundations and superstructure of mathematical science. The axioms of geometry became abstract assumptions regarding elements which are not defined but are consistent with those which come from intuition or observation. The number basis of analytical mathematics came to depend on assumptions which are selected so as to be consistent with our experience of simple numbers. The steps towards logical rigor were taken in the first place, and are understood now, by those only who are acquainted with the field of mathematics. Early mathematical training must still, and always, be based as far as possible on experience, and every advantage taken of whatever intuitive sense the student may possess. This was Professor Dupuis' view of the teaching required of him in all the undergraduate courses. In his opinion the purpose of an undergraduate course was to give a thorough practical and intuitive grasp of the principles of mathematics, with the mental training that comes from the various extensions and generalizations. Within rather wide limits he would accept the intuitive sense of the truth of principles rather than require analytical proof, and reserve the latter to a season of greater mathematical maturity.

He took great pleasure in the interpretation of mathematical results in terms of things of experience, and of tracing out their wide generality. He had equally great pleasure in extending such results through imaginary values of the variables concerned, where interpretation has no correspondent in experience. He placed great value on such generalization from an educational point of view; for, in his own words, such study "draws more fully upon the powers of the mind in itself." In this connection he sometimes referred approvingly to the remark of Cayley that it would be a pity if there were

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not at least some mathematics for which there is no direct practical application.

It was evident to even a casual observer of Professor Dupuis' teaching that he enjoyed the work. He loved to see the new light dawn upon the face of the interested student. With a spirit like that, bad teaching was impossible. In later years it was a source of pleasure to him to meet again those whom he had first met in the classroom.

He has left to Queen's University and to the world a legacy of unselfish and devoted service, which will not soon be forgotten.

JOHN MATHESON.

MARK RUTHERFORD.

I HAVE observed that the mere knowing that other people have been tried as we have been tried is a consolation to us, and that we are relieved by the assurance that our sufferings are not special and peculiar, but common to us with many others." This is Mark Rutherford's apology for giving to the world the history of the failures of his commonplace life. His books, that is to say, are books of consolation, written not for those who have never known ill-health, who have always seized the tide of prosperity, but for the dejected and downtrodden, those with no hope, the unfortunates who, unable to keep the main stream of life, have been driven gasping on the shoals. At this sentence I can hear mutters of protest. One says: "This fellow with his sordid and melancholy thoughts is no companion for me on a winter-night." And stretching himself comfortably in his chair he will turn to Rabelais who made even lepers forget their pains, or to Dickens, an equally great magician. Yet another says: "When I read a novel I expect it to be a novel, not a sermon. The literary artist should interpret Life; if all he can give is a little threadbare morality, he had better try another profession." What shall we say to these mutterers? This—that they take it for granted that literature is a kind of entertainment with which men and women educated at High School or College, and having no taste for card-parties, balls, and moving-picture shows, pass their evenings. But it is the bread of life. Man could not live unless from time to time to him in his terrible isolation, amid the vast silences of his soul, came a message from another being like himself. What do I care for "Art for Art's sake" if I have sought an occupation all day and now am returned to my cold fireside to reflect on the insults and the curses showered on me for seeking permission to work. If *The Revolution in Tanner's Lane* and *Deliverance* cause the cloud of oppression to lift a little above me, I shall not then ask such a question as, Are they novels or are they merely sermons? He

tells the lives of mean men! He himself was a poor-spirited fellow! There is some truth in that. Zachariah Coleman was a printer who worked about twelve hours a day for six days a week and could not take an hour off to tend his sick wife for fear of dismissal. A great deal of prominence is given in *Catharine Furze* to the death of a servant girl and to the miserable state of certain peasantry "shivering in the bitter cold and eating raw turnips." It is true that you have sometimes to leave your fireside ecstasies if you read Mark Rutherford.

I have spoken of Mark Rutherford as if he were really the author of the novels and journals which go under his name. But his history and his writings and his friend, Reuben Shapcott, are the creation of the son of a Bedford bookseller and printer, W. Hale White. Creation in a restricted sense; for Mark Rutherford's spiritual history was to a large extent his own; except for one or two details there is little of fictitious in it. A few years ago a book called *The Early Life of Mark Rutherford* appeared giving the actual facts of W. Hale White's early life. It put a seal on the identification of Mark Rutherford's opinions with those of his author: both were Dissenters; both through reading Wordsworth and Carlyle were shaken from the orthodox faith which they had been reared in; both were subject to hypochondria. After the first years of manhood the actual courses of their lives separated: Hale White was saved from the hardships and poverty which he makes Mark Rutherford endure. And the Hale White who died in 1913, who translated the *Ethic* of Spinoza and composed *Clara Hopgood*, had advanced in thought beyond the Mark Rutherford who is represented as dying about 1880. Prefixed to *The Autobiography* are some lines describing the character of its author:

*This is the night when I must die,
And great Orion walketh high
In silent glory overhead:
He'll set just after I am dead.*

*A week this night I'm in my grave:
Orion walketh o'er the wave:
Down in the dark damp earth I lie,
While he doth march in majesty.*

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*I once did think there might be mine
One friendship perfect and divine;
Alas! that dream dissolved in tears
Before I'd counted twenty years.*

*For I was ever commonplace;
Of genius never had a trace;
My thoughts the world have never fed,
Mere echoes of the book last read.*

*Those whom I knew I cannot blame:
If they are cold, I am the same:
How could they ever show to me
More than a common courtesy?*

*There is no deed which I have done;
There is no love which I have won,
To make them for a moment grieve
That I this night their earth must leave.*

True though these lines are of the Mark Rutherford of *The Autobiography*, the real Mark Rutherford was more assured of his powers; he possessed and made use of a satiric wit that is sometimes harsh; a note of Miltonic confidence asserts itself in his style. As W. Hale White, however, in all his works with the exception of the translation of Spinoza's *Ethic* and his critical study of Bunyan, identified himself with Mark Rutherford, I will do so in this essay except where confusion would result.

W. Hale White was born in Bedford in 1831. His father had opened a bookseller's and printer's shop there a year earlier. Soon afterwards he became engaged in a struggle over the use of the Bedford school fund—the Bedford Charity, it was called. The Rector of St. John's carried a motion at a meeting of trustees of the fund that all masters under the Charity should be members of the Church of England. The Nonconformists fearing this meant that all the schools would be closed to their children, rose in alarm, and led by William White managed to get the objectionable resolution rescinded. In the years in which Hale White's father battled against the claims of the established church to special privileges, his greatest political hero, John Bright, began his connection with the same cause: on July 26, 1840, in the cemetery of the church

of St. Chad in his native town, Bright addressed a great meeting on the Church Rates and told "the Vicar and his brood of clergymen more truth than they were accustomed to hear." William White was not a lonely protester against the claims of privilege which the Church of England set up, but one of the great band who broke down the railings with which she fenced off from all but her own children the highest educational and social advantages. In an atmosphere created by these men Mark Rutherford was brought up. It permeates his books. All the characters whom he marks with his special admiration have in them something of his father and of John Bright.

The Whites attended the Meeting House—the church which had been ministered to one hundred and fifty years before by John Bunyan—and professed an orthodox calvinistic faith. They believed that because of Adam's fall all men are born into the world corrupt and full of sin and therefore subject to the wrath of God; that God has predestined certain elect to salvation and the rest of mankind to an eternity of torture; that there is no absolute assurance possible of one's being among the chosen, but that the having undergone such an experience as Paul underwent on the road to Damascus is the best assurance of it. For twenty years or so they listened and gave a slumbering assent to these hard doctrines. William White then happened to read *Sartor Resartus* and *Heroes and Hero-Worship* and became infected by Carlyle's detestation of unrealities and shams. The scales fell from his eyes. He saw that those doctrines, which men in past times had held with conviction and put about them as a protection against evil, were for him but armour of cardboard and silver paper. Meanwhile his son was on the way to become a minister. He had entered the Countess of Huntingdon's College at Chesunt, and in 1851, was transferred to New College, St. John's Wood, London. But he also was reading Carlyle. A chance question in a lecture on the inspiration of the Bible laid bare heretical opinions in the minds of three students. They (among them was Hale White) were examined and, after a brief delay, expelled. Shortly afterwards his father removed from Bedford to London, where Lord Charles Russel had obtained him the position of Assistant Doorkeeper of the House of Commons.

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A year later he became Doorkeeper and held it till he retired in 1875. His son for a time had difficulty in finding settled employment. He tried schoolmastering but ran away on the first night in a fit of melancholy just as he has described Mark Rutherford as doing in *The Autobiography*. Then he worked on the *Westminster Review* for Chapman and "subscribed" his publications. The sub-editor of the *Review* was Miss Evans (George Eliot). She befriended the young man and played Beethoven and Gluck to him as Theresa Wollaston does for his other self.

"I was a mere youth, a stranger, awkward and shy. She was then almost unknown to the world, but I had sense enough to discern she was a remarkable creature. I was grateful to her because she replied with eagerness to a trifling remark I happened to make and gave it some importance. That was always her way."

Though shortly afterwards, chiefly because of his false pride, he lost sight of her for many years, there can be no doubt that she exercised a great influence on his genius.

After two or three years of this work Hale White was given a clerkship in Somerset House. Later he was transferred to the Admiralty. There he remained till his retirement.*

I.

All his books are centred round one or other of the reform movements of the nineteenth century. Into the first part of *The Revolution in Tanner's Lane* come the men who convened the Spitalfields meeting in 1816 and those who marshalled the Blanketeers for their march to London; the pivot of the second part is a Corn-Law election in the 'forties. The Anti--Corn-Law Leaguers and the Chartists appear in *Clara Hopgood*. In *Deliverance* Mark Rutherford founds a settlement in Drury Lane. Foreign politics make one entrance;

*The first editions of Mark Rutherford's works appeared as follows: *The Autobiography* 1881, *Spinoza's Ethic* 1883, *Deliverance* 1885, *The Revolution in Tanner's Lane* 1887, *Miriam's Schooling* 1890, *Catharine Furze* 1893, *Clara Hopgood* 1896, *Pages from a Journal* 1900, *Bunyan* 1905, *More Pages from a Journal* 1910, *Last Pages from a Journal* 1915.

Clara Hopgood ends with the heroine offering herself to Mazzini for service as a spy among the Austrians. "Would that he (the present historian) could bring back one blue summer morning, one afternoon and evening," says Mark Rutherford in one of his novels, "and reproduce exactly what happened in Cowfold Square, in one of the Cowfold shops, in one of the Cowfold parlours, and in one Cowfold brain and heart. Could this be done with strictest accuracy, a book would be written, although Cowfold was not Athens, Rome, nor Jerusalem, which would live for many years longer than much of the literature of this century." These sentences describe the ideal he set before himself in recording what passions and thoughts animated the men who fought at Peterboro and those who were first moved by the wretched state of the London slums. To tell with veracity what he had known, what he had experienced, not permitting the humblest fact to pass, was his aim. Though other writers of much greater celebrity and popularity—Disraeli, Meredith, George Eliot, Mrs. Gaskell, Kingsley—have described the same social and political movements, when all have been read, something of unique value will be found in Mark Rutherford. For he knew the lives of working-men from the inside, as perhaps none of them did; and he allowed nothing to come between him and the strict presentation of the fact, carrying over into his literary art that scrupulous care to record the smallest things which he admired in the eighteenth century astronomer, James Bradley.

There is no doubt as to the side which Mark Rutherford takes on those questions. He hated neutrality. Politics are often spoken of as a game—a gambling game for high stakes or merely a game for pleasure: when it is over opponents and partners rise; the serious or angry look leaves their faces; they shake hands all round and go upstairs to bed. Mark Rutherford had not that conception of them. Mr. Bradshaw, the great preacher in *The Revolution in Tanner's Lane*—he was suggested by the great Welsh preacher, Caleb Morris, whom Mark Rutherford sat under for ten years after his expulsion from college—one morning during the Corn-Law elections shut his Bible and said "that he felt he should not be doing his duty if he did not tell those whom he taught which

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way they ought to vote, and that what he had preached to them for so many years would be poor stuff if it did not compel them into a protest against taxing the poor for the sake of the rich." Politics and religion were not disunited for Mr. Bradshaw. The same was true of his disciple.

I think that Mark Rutherford must have written all his novels with some sentences from the notorious speech of Mr. Robert Lowe against the 1866 Reform Bill in his head:

"Let any gentleman consider the constituencies he has had the honour to be connected with. If you want venality, if you want ignorance, if you want drunkenness and facility to be intimidated, or if, on the other hand, you want impulsive, unreflecting and violent people, where do you look for them in the constituencies? Do you go to the top, or to the bottom?"

This represents the extreme middle-class view of working-men then as now. Mark Rutherford set over against it a series of portraits of working-men—Isaac Allen, Baruch Cohen, Zachariah Coleman, Edward Gibbon Mardon, Didymus Farrow. One thing characterizes all these, their excellence at their trade, their genuine craftsmanship. Miriam despises her husband, Didymus Farrow, because he prefers whittling a monkey tumbling over a long pole or playing *Down among the Dead Men* on an accordion to reading *Romeo and Juliet*; but Didymus Farrow could make instrument boxes perfect to the thirty-second part of an inch. They are all, also, broad-minded, acute men who nourish their souls with books. Zachariah Coleman's poets were Byron, Milton and Isaiah; round his room he hung portraits of Major Cartwright, Byron, Bunyan, Scott, Paine, Burns and Mr. Bradshaw. Sir Walter Scott was the chief author of Isaac Allen. We are not told anything of Edward Gibbon Mardon's reading; but the place of honour above his mantel shelf was given to Albert Durer's *St. Jerome*. On one occasion when Mark Rutherford visited him, he asked his daughter to sing. "He took a tuning-fork out of his pocket, and, having struck it, Mary rose and began, 'He was despised.' Her voice was not powerful, but it was pure and clear, and she sang with that perfect taste which is begotten solely of a desire to honour the master." To those who regard literature and art as polite accomplishments or as

aids to the writing of real estate circulars and furniture advertisements, these facts will be of no importance; but to me they are; for they confirm what I have often observed, that literature crosses as willingly the sanded step of the poor man's cottage as she mounts the marble stairs of the most palatial library; and that she never is sweeter than when seated beside the man who has earned his right to read ten chapters of *The Antiquary* by ten hours of manual labour.

II.

Hale White has given an account of his expulsion from New College in his *Early Life*. On the occasion of an inaugural address by the Principal, two students with whom he was closely associated asked questions about the formation of the canon and the authenticity of the separate books. The Principal answered: "I must inform you that that is not an open question within these walls. There is a great body of truth received as orthodoxy by the great majority of Christians, the explanation of which is one thing, but to doubt it is another, and the foundation must not be questioned." The matter did not rest there. The three doubters were summoned before a joint meeting of the Senate and Council, and asked to give answers on the spot to a series of questions of which this is the gem: "Do you believe a statement because it is in the Bible, or merely because it is true?" Several other meetings were held but finally, their answers being counted unsatisfactory, they were informed that their connection with New College must cease. Hale White's father asked that the moral character of the three should be placed above suspicion. No attention was paid to his request.

In *The Autobiography* Mark Rutherford undergoes a similar experience. He was not expelled but all his attempts at independent thought were stamped out.

The prejudice and stupidity of the Council which examined Hale White and of the President who with such delicate egotism counselled Mark Rutherford, must not be supposed to have been characteristic of all Nonconformist teachers at the middle of the nineteenth century. There were many commu-

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nities in England where instead of being ruthlessly thrust down into the dark wood with its wild beasts, Mark Rutherford would have been guided upwards to the light. One of these was Spring Hill College near Birmingham and the congregation with which it had a special connection in that city, Carr's Lane. One afternoon, in all probability not many months before the date of Hale White's expulsion, Mr. James, the minister of Carr's Lane, had as his guest a young man of twenty, the most promising student of Spring Hill, R. W. Dale. After dinner, having asked if he might speak plainly to him, he told what he had heard of his heresy and scepticism. Dale would not be convinced by his arguments, but he says: "The discovery which I made that afternoon of the simplicity of his temper effected a complete revolution in my feelings towards him." A little later, in 1855, Dale—the famous Dale of Birmingham—became Mr. James' colleague. He believed in preaching doctrinal sermons and soon began a series which shook Carr's Lane to its foundation. He said that it was with abhorrence, loathing, and disgust that he read the writings of those men who maintained that infants were depraved by nature and deserving God's vengeance; he rejected as horrible and incredible the doctrine that the heathen will be condemned to unending centuries of torture; and maintained that we are justified by the free grace of God, not because in any legal sense our debt of sin has been paid to Him in the death of Christ. Mr. James, though absolutely disagreeing with his colleague on these doctrines, stoutly defended him against the irate older members of the congregation. He said: "Now leave the young man alone," "He has the root of the matter in him." This Mr. James was a right Damascus blade. Had the Principal of New College been like him, the world would have been poorer by a Mark Rutherford, though it would have had another Dale of Birmingham.

Mark Rutherford's spiritual history, after he was cut adrift, is not easy to follow. He did not draw up a confession of faith nor make any attempt to organize his beliefs into a system. Zachariah Coleman hung in his room portraits of men so different as Voltaire and Bunyan; Mark Rutherford allowed himself or rather was forced to allow himself a simi-

lar freedom: he could find sustaining truth in Spinoza and Calvin, yet what is more characteristic of him than the advice to come out of our studies, to cease stupefying our minds with questions we shall never be able to answer, and, instead, to gossip with our neighbours, dandle our children on our knees, go out proudly on holidays in our silks and broadcloth.

A book opened the eyes of Mark Rutherford's spiritual mind—Wordsworth's *Lyrical Ballads*. He cannot explain why it should have affected him or what exactly was the change it made in him. But his life became different. He now read books with passion, with tears in his eyes or laughing with joy. He could wander a whole summer's day among the fields, full of pleasant thoughts as the burns he had to cross or the tops of the pine-trees wooed by the soft winds.

"I cannot paint
What then I was. The sounding cataract
Haunted me like a passion; the tall rock,
The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,
Their colours and their forms, were then to me
An appetite; a feeling and a love,
That had no need of a remoter charm,
By thought supplied, nor any interest
Unborrowed from the eye."

After he left the college Nature meant still more to him. He was afflicted with "that most awful malady hypochondria." "It went with me wherever I went, it got up with me in the morning, walked about with me all day, and lay down with me at night. I managed somehow or other to do my work, but I prayed incessantly for death." In time he discovered that when darkness was thickest about him, Nature, if he sought her, would rescue him. A glimpse of the sea with the ships sailing to the ends of the earth, a look upwards at great Orion marching in majesty, a sight of an evening sky in which all but one rim of olive light low down on the horizon—prophecy of the restoration of the sun—was leaden and gray; and he saw the end of the Valley of the Shadow. All his characters undergo the same experience. Miriam's schooling was completed as one morning she watched the sun rise amid the clouds of a dying storm. As Zachariah Coleman walked to

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Lancaster to see for the last time Jean Caillaud, who had been condemned to death for killing a soldier at Peterloo, the miraculous change of night to day was as sweet and soothing to him as it was to the tormented Prometheus. A triumphal Spring reconciled Catharine Furze to death.

"She felt as if she lay open to all the life of spring which was pouring up through the earth, and it swept into her as if she were one of those bursting exultant chestnut buds, the sight of which she loved so in April and May. . . . The bliss of life passed over into contentment with death, and her delight was so great that she could happily have lain down amid the hum of the insects to die on the grass."

This is how Clara Hopgood dedicated herself to Mazzini's cause:

"Not a sound was to be heard, save every now and then the crow of a cock or the short cry of a just awakened thrush. High up on the zenith, the approach of the sun to the horizon was proclaimed by the most delicate tints of rose-colour, but the cloud-bank above him was dark and untouched, although the blue which was over it, was every moment becoming paler. Clara watched; she was moved even to tears by the beauty of the scene, but she was stirred by something more than beauty, just as he who was in the Spirit and beheld a throne and One sitting thereon, saw something more than loveliness, although He was radiant with the colour of jasper and there was a rainbow round about Him like an emerald to look upon. In a few moments the highest top of the cloud-rampart was kindled, and the whole wavy outline became a fringe of flame. In a few moments more the fire just at one point became blinding, and in another second the sun emerged, the first arrowy shaft passed into her chamber, the first shadow was cast, and it was day. She put her hands to her face; the tears fell faster, but she wiped them away and her great purpose was fixed. She crept back into bed, her agitation ceased, a strange and almost supernatural peace overshadowed her and she fell asleep not to wake till the sound of the scythe had ceased in the meadow just beyond the rick-yard that came up to one side of the cottage, and the mowers were at their breakfast."

Mark Rutherford had been educated to believe that God predestines whom he will to salvation and whom he will to eternal punishment. The harsher implications of this doctrine he gave up, but he could not altogether abandon it. In

time he admitted that it was a genuine theology, poor and not very comforting, if you please, but, though the form in which it was expressed, had become out-of-date, honest in its recognition of the facts and providing the most real remedy of all theologies.

What chiefly excited him to revolt was the problem of suffering. Often his characters protest at being bound to undergo thirty or forty years of trial and pain for no fault of their own. Why has God chosen us as His people and instead of giving us the expected life of joy, asked us to make impossible sacrifices? Why did he choose Jephthah, the son of a harlot, to smite the children of Ammon, electing him seemingly to glory and triumph but really electing him to a broken heart and infinite suffering? Such are the questions that Zachariah Coleman put to himself pacing the dismal Manchester pavement; and such hundreds of thousands who like Jephthah in the moment of victory *have been brought very low* are putting to themselves to-day. "At last he said to himself, 'Thus hath He decreed; it is foolish to struggle against the ordinances; we can but submit.' 'A poor gospel,' says the critic. Poor,—yes, it may be; but it is the gospel according to Job, and any other is a mere mirage. 'Doth the hawk fly by thy wisdom and stretch her wings towards the south?' Confess ignorance and the folly of insurrection, and there is a chance that even the irremediable will be somewhat mitigated."

It was perhaps the problem of human suffering which led him to Spinoza, whose books, one can see, had more to do with the tempering of his thought than even *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *The Rambler* and the *De Imitatione Christi*. He studied him all his life and made a translation of his *Ethic* which is in itself, like the great Elizabethan translations, a noble addition to English literature. Now Spinoza's answer to the problem of suffering does not differ much from that which Mr. Bradshaw taught Zachariah Coleman. He says that if we have an adequate idea of God we shall recognize that all things follow of the same necessity from His eternal decrees as it follows from the essence of a triangle that its three angles are equal to two right angles; and that in the recognition of that comes contentment and blessedness. Why then do we rebel at the

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hardships and sorrows which despite our noble actions and virtuous lives, are thrust upon us? The more eager our readiness to do the will of God—and readiness to suffer best shows our eagerness—the higher is our liberty, the more we receive of “joy continuous and supreme.”

Perhaps it may be said that the similarity between Calvin’s and Spinoza’s answer to this problem is superficial, because one is thinking of an eternal infinite God who is above human affairs and moulds them and casts them aside, like a potter making at his own pleasure some vessels to honour and some to dishonour; while the other is thinking of an eternal infinite God who is not outside His universe but its soul and law, of whose infinite intellect man’s mind is an expression. I do not think, however, that Mark Rutherford would have admitted a merely superficial resemblance. He would have said that they both had recognized in all its greatness the same fundamental fact of life; and that to differences of training and knowledge were due their different answers. He might have added that Spinoza in identifying God with his universe went a step in advance of Calvin. At any rate several of the characters in *Clara Hopgood*, his last novel, are followers of Spinoza rather than of Calvin. Baruch Cohen, the Zachariah Coleman of that book, is a Spinozist.

“He was something of a philosopher, too; he accepted, therefore, as well as he could, without complaint the inevitable order of nature, and he tried to acquire, although he often failed, that blessed art of taking up lightly and even with a smile whatever he was compelled to handle. ‘It is possible,’ he said once, ‘to consider death too seriously.’” “The universe,” he said, speaking to Clara, “is so wonderful, so intricate, that it is impossible to trace the transformation of its forces, and when they seem to disappear the disappearance may be an illusion. Moreover, ‘waste’ is a word which is applicable only to finite resources. If the resources are infinite it has no meaning.”

It must be remembered that Baruch Cohen was half a Jew, the grandson of a diamond-cutter of Amsterdam; that he himself was a mathematical instrument maker, and that he is represented as continually poring over the propositions of Maimonides. Clare Hopgood and Madge Hopgood are really

Spinozists though they never mention the philosopher's name. They not only bow to necessity as Mark Rutherford represents Jephthah and Job doing, grimly, from hard necessity, like soldiers who though they wholly trust their general and without question obey him, yet must sternly repress the dismay in their hearts at the seemingly impossible tasks he sets before them; but they go to meet sacrifice and anguish with serenity and even with rejoicing. That was the state of mind towards the will of God to which Spinoza in his philosophy strove to attain.

It is easy to discern the vital connection between Mark Rutherford's religion of nature and the assent he gave to the doctrines of Calvin and Spinoza. When Clara Hopgood, as she watched the sunrise, became fixed in her purpose, she was thinking *sub specie eternitatis*. But the connection between those doctrines and another part of his teaching is not so plain.

In *The Autobiography* and in *Deliverance* he says frequently that it is a mistake for the man of ordinary talents to shut himself in his study in order to wrestle with problems which he only half comprehends; that it will but stupefy him and make him miserable; that he should instead do the work that lies nearest to him and enjoy all simple natural pleasures. One of the most striking chapters in *The Autobiography* describes a meeting with an entomologist. His wife had died in childbirth and left him a crippled and deformed boy who, as he grew up, developed a satyr-like lustfulness, which in time deepened into absolute lunacy. The father and husband was heartbroken. For many years he struggled to solve the problems of death and immortality in order to lighten the burden of oppression on his mind. But life did not become even tolerable to him till he commenced the study of butterflies. "It is true, although strange, that there are multitudes of burning questions which we must do our best to ignore, to forget their existence; and it is not more strange, after all, than many other facts in this wonderfully mysterious and defective existence of ours. One-fourth of life is intelligible, the other three-fourths is unintelligible darkness; and our earliest duty is to cultivate the habit of not looking round the corner." The entomologist had learned the habit of looking round the corner.

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How is one to reconcile this doctrine with that in his essay on Spinoza where he says that he who sees that opposition between thought and matter is fictitious, and that his mind is a part of "the infinite intellect of God," will feel a relationship with infinity which will emancipate him. Mark Rutherford would answer that he cannot reconcile them by thought, but that life has reconciled them for him; that he has found it possible to believe in and practise both, though they are opposites.

Mark Rutherford was not a Christian in the orthodox sense. Most of the doctrines he had been taught in his youth he discarded. He did not do so, it must be remembered, because he "delighted in giddiness and counted it a bondage to fix a belief," but because the passion for truth, the hatred of meaningless phrases, roused in him by Carlyle, compelled him. But he never abandoned his worship of Jesus. The solitary young Galilean, confronted by two enormous and overpowering organizations, the Jewish hierarchy and the Roman, teaching the doctrine of the Kingdom of Heaven; the Christ of the lonely, the unsuccessful, and the friendless; the God whose whole thought was swallowed up in watching for the return of the Prodigal Son, and who received him not only without a rebuke but without even saying—*at the same time you must see, my dearest, don't you?*—these conceptions of Jesus sustained him when, utterly downcast, convinced of his own incapacity, abandoned by all but a known atheist, he wandered about the town of C——. And they remained with him throughout his whole life. He closes his *Bunyan* with these words:

"We need Shakespeare as well as Bunyan, and oscillate between the *Pilgrim's Progress* and *As You Like It*. We cannot bring ourselves into a unity. The time is yet to come when we shall live by a faith which is a harmony of all our faculties. A glimpse was caught of such a gospel nineteen centuries ago in Galilee, but it has vanished."

III.

Mark Rutherford had no patience with those who said that George Eliot was not a good novelist because she mixed up philosophy with fiction. "It is a question of words," he

says, "not worth debating. George Eliot was chosen to write as she did in *Middlemarch*, and I am profoundly grateful. You may judge her if you like, by the *Count of Monte Christo*, but I confess that *Middlemarch* is more to my taste." Lovers of Mark Rutherford return a similar answer to those who say that he is not a good novelist because he moralizes and makes his characters express direct opinions on art, literature, and science. These interest and even move his readers. That is their justification. But at the same time those who think highly of his books claim that he is a creative artist. If they were asked, "To whom is Mark Rutherford nearer, to John Bunyan of *Solomon's Temple Spiritualized* or to John Bunyan of *The Pilgrim's Progress*?" they would answer, "To John Bunyan of *The Pilgrim's Progress*." During his last years he contributed a number of papers to several English weeklies, most of which have been reprinted in his *Journals*. From these and from his critical study of Bunyan and his two prefaces to Spinoza's *Ethic* one could make acquaintance with all that is essential in his thought. But he has not won for himself so many readers—they are in every nook and corner of the world now—by those books, however precious they be. His ideas dramatically expressed, shown at work in the minds of men and women; his studies of life in the limited field in which he knew it well; his miraculous gift of expression; these have won him fame.

His creative imagination was not of the most powerful kind. The greatest novelists and dramatists create with ease. It was no labour, one feels, for Scott and Dickens and Thackeray to make so many men and women from different classes of society, live. If you had walked along an empty street with one of them, he could have peopled it for you with a crowd. But few minds endowed so generously are born in a century. Mark Rutherford's was not of their calibre. Nearly all his characters are imaginative interpretations of men and women he had known. This required much less power than was required by the author of *Jeanie Deans*, *Redgauntlet*, and *Rob Roy*. But we, down on the plains, cannot look up scornfully at peaks 10,000 or 20,000 feet high because they are overtopped by summits of 30,000.

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Mark Rutherford knew the meaning of suffering. In his own case it was caused by mental distress; but it was no light thing; it cast a gloom over his whole life and made him extremely sensitive to the suffering of others, especially to that kind whose existence is often never dreamt of, that arising from disappointed hopes and unrecognized devotion. One therefore meets in his books many men and women leading outwardly commonplace lives, buying and selling, dusting and washing, who are devoured nevertheless by a secret sorrow. They are growing old; they look as if no passion, no enthusiasm had ever disturbed the quiet and often the dull routine of their lives; but the tranquillity is a shallow crust which only moral effort keeps fastened over the fires raging beneath. Such are Miss Arbour in *The Autobiography*, and the doctor in *Catharine Furze*. You meet with others of a slightly different stamp, those who because they distrust themselves, are regarded as of no weight in the world and treated as fools. Tenderness to these we know Mark Rutherford considered to be the very essence of Christianity. He says in his *Bunyan* that Mr. Fearing is the principal figure in the second part of *The Pilgrim's Progress* and perhaps in the whole of it. He adds:

"Fearing undoubtedly lived in Bedford, and most likely was not thought much of there, a silly creature, a failure in business, never consulted, pushed aside by successful and superior people, and despised by women as well as by men. But the Interpreter 'being very tender to them that are afraid—carried it wonderful loving to him.' The Interpreter knew that there may be a meaning in poor souls who mean nothing to their neighbours, and he also knew how to decipher it."

Mark Rutherford had the Interpreter's spirit in describing Mrs. M'Kay. She was an "honest good little woman," but she so admired her husband that she assented to everything he said. He grew angry at her constant chime of approval and would not converse with her unless on household matters—the ordering of the coals or the mending of clothes. If she ventured a remark on a sermon or lecture she had heard, he would listen to her in silence. What she said was really stupid, yet there existed in her nature rich possi-

bilities. M'Kay in the end saw this. "She opened not, indeed, into an oriental flower, rich in profound mystery of scent and colour, but into a blossom of the chalk-down."

He has drawn Mr. Greathearts and valiant Christians as well as Mr. Fearings. I have already given some proof of this in what I have said of the Calvinist printer, Zachariah Coleman, and the noble Clara Hopgood. But there are many others. Tom Catchpole and George Allen are excellent craftsmen, but, unlike Zachariah Coleman, their whole interest is in the work of their hands. Theresa Wollaston and Catharine Furze and Miriam are much stronger both in feeling and intellect than either of the Hopgoods. It is strange to meet such vehement, natural, almost wild, creatures among the honest Nonconformist shopmen who from the day of their marriage till their death never change the humdrum routine of their lives. Stranger still are the rare Arabian birds who light in the streets of Cowfold and Eastthorpe. Miss Leroy was the daughter of a French officer taken prisoner in the great war. She used to go out walking alone on starry nights and early on summer mornings, causing infinite talk by her unheard of exploits; but on one occasion in her favourite resting-place a *De Imitatione Christi* was found, and she was safe from the scandal-mongers. She kept her casement windows open night and day at a time when all windows were sealed as tight as the lids of preserving bottles and everyone climbed at night into a huge, canopied, thick-curtained four-posters. She used to say doubtful things about love. Another is Pauline Caillaud. She was the daughter of a Frenchwoman, who, after being betrayed and cast adrift by a young Parisian libertine, saved him at the cost of her own life from the guillotine. Jean Caillaud had adopted Pauline and lived with her high up in a London tenement. On two occasions when Zachariah visited them she danced for his amusement. Zachariah was in sore confusion. He had been brought up to consider such exhibitions as the works of the devil. But he ultimately married Pauline.

Following Mark Rutherford's own critical method I have indicated most of the things which attract me in his books. Several matters I have not touched upon—his power as a

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story-teller, particularly in *Catharine Furze*; the ability he shows to step out of his own age in the historical part of *The Revolution in Tanner's Lane*; the satirical portraits of the Reverend John Broad and Mr. Snale, the deacon; and his style. The last I cannot altogether pass over. Mark Rutherford says of Bunyan's style: "Properly speaking he has no style, that is to say, nothing comes between us and the thing which was in his mind; the glass is not coloured." This remark is as true of his own. Even truer; for if the glass which reflected Bunyan's thought was uncoloured and flawless, in the thought itself were many colours. All the hues of the Bedfordshire soil have tinged it; it has been steeped in the Phenician dyes of the Apocalyptic books. Mark Rutherford's thought in comparison is like a pure white light. Yet if we look closely we shall perceive that a faint warm hue pervades it, and we shall notice at long intervals splashes of rich colour. It has not the dazzling brilliant whiteness of light as it appears to the eye at noon on a summer day, but the whiteness of marble; and it is marked with a few veins of deep red.

W. D. TAYLOR.

THE NEUTRALIZATION OF STATES.

IN an earlier paper, the doctrine of the neutralization of states has been examined with special reference to Switzerland. It has been seen that the policy of permanent neutrality adopted by that country was not imposed upon it by the action of the Great Powers, but was self-determined, a policy consciously adopted in the interest and as the outcome of her own democratic institutions, and defended by her own citizen army.

In the present paper, a review will be given of the other instances of neutralization with a view to considering how far such a policy can be considered a permanent solution of the difficulties of the small nation.

The Neutrality of Savoy.

Of special interest in connection with Swiss permanent neutrality is the question of the neutrality of the Province of Savoy. In the declaration of the Powers regarding the neutrality of Switzerland, a clause is included according to which a part of Savoy, which, by the Congress of Vienna, was returned to the King of Sardinia, namely, the districts of Chablais and Fancigny and the territory north of a line from the town of Ugine, by Faverges, Lecheranie, the Lac de Bourget to St. Zenix on the Rhone, should be included in the neutral territory of Switzerland "de la manière que si elles appartenaient à celle-ci." Article 92 of the final act of the treaty of Vienna stipulates that in the event of war the Province of Savoy was to be evacuated by the troops of the King of Sardinia, which were to retire by the way of the Swiss district of Valais. During actual hostilities the territory was to be garrisoned by a force drawn from Switzerland. No particular attention was at first paid to this anomalous position of Savoy. Difficulties came when, in 1860, by the treaty of Turin, Savoy was ceded to France. When the questions arose: What are the relations of Savoy to Switzerland? What were the reasons of the Powers for including these provinces in Swiss neutrality? Was it a right or a duty for Switzerland to occupy the territory in case of war? What should the future relations be, as certainly

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some of the provisions would be made illusory by the transfer to France? According to the treaty of cession France took over from Sardinia the sovereign rights over Savoy, but the guarantee of the Powers should continue to cover the neutrality of the province as before. If so, then France should in case of war withdraw her troops from the province and not draw soldiers or supplies from them. But should Switzerland then occupy the territories and to what purpose?

The inclusion of that portion of Savoy in the declaration of the neutrality of Switzerland in 1815 was undoubtedly based on the old treaty and other relations of the provinces with the Swiss confederation, with Berne and with Geneva. From the seventeenth century a treaty between the Duke of Savoy and Switzerland provided that the said provinces should never fall into a third hand. Most likely the statesmen of the Congress of Vienna had also in mind an eventual definite annexation to Switzerland. Certain it is, that it was so understood by the Swiss people, and in 1860 the Swiss government claimed that Savoy should now by right fall to Switzerland. Some parts of Savoy also immediately declared themselves in favor of joining the Swiss confederation. But the annexation to France was already a *fait accompli*, and Napoleon III, in taking a vote in the provinces, turned it in such a way that the question of being joined to Switzerland was not put at all and that he received a large majority in his favor. Switzerland protested in a note to the Powers, which, as it concerned none of them in particular, passed unheeded. The Federal Councillor Staempfli, supported by an ardent minority of the Swiss people, who felt shamefully deceived, urged making the question a *casus belli* wth the object of gaining the portion of Savoy definitely for the Swiss confederation. The majority in the councils, however, was not in favor of such a venture, and thus in the same way as the Valtellino in 1815, this beautiful country in 1860 was definitely lost to Switzerland by unskilful diplomacy.

The question of the neutrality of Savoy and its relation to Switzerland was never clearly defined, possibly because in 1815 t was regarded by the diplomats of the congress as a matter of course, which would not call for any special care...

Switzerland in her troubled condition was unable to pay much attention to questions not concerning immediately her internal affairs, and to direct a decided foreign policy. By the change in the political structure of Europe the original provision gradually lost meaning, and was totally changed by the cession of Savoy to France, Switzerland, traditionally less successful in diplomacy than with the sword, neglected to have the question settled in time. In 1883 notes were exchanged between the Swiss and French governments regarding Savoy and the result of this was, that the stipulations of 1815 were still recognized as existing of right. It is doubtful, however, whether much practical importance can still be attached to the neutralization of Savoy, if indeed it ever had any other purpose than the ultimate inclusion in the Swiss confederation. To-day Savoy forms to all intents and purposes an integral part of France and none would seriously require from France to exempt those provinces in drawing soldiers and supports for the present war. Switzerland, however, still claims the right to occupy the specified districts of Savoy in case of war, should this be deemed necessary to protect her own territory from that side. In accordance with this view, the Swiss government, in the note sent to the Powers at the outbreak of the war, especially reminded them that Switzerland would make use of her right to occupy the "neutral portions of Savoy should it become necessary to safeguard her interests." No such occupation has, however, so far taken place and there is little likelihood of it becoming necessary. This right of Switzerland then is practically the only remnant of the neutralization of Savoy by the Powers in 1815.

The Republic of Cracow.

By the congress of Vienna in 1814-15, the city of Cracow, which was formerly a part of Poland and later of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, was constituted an independent Republic under the guarantee of perpetual neutrality by Austria, Russia and Prussia. Article 6 of the treaty of June 9, 1815, signed by eight Powers, provides that "the city of Cracow, with its territory, is declared forever a free city, independent and strictly neutral under the protection of Austria, Russia and

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Prussia." Article 9 of the treaty stipulates that "the Courts of Russia, Austria and Prussia engage to respect and cause to be always respected the neutrality of the Free City of Cracow and its territory. No armed force shall be introduced upon any pretence whatever. On the other hand, it is understood and expressly stipulated that no asylum shall be afforded in the Free City and Territory of Cracow to fugitives, deserters and persons under prosecution belonging to the countries of either the High Contracting Parties aforesaid." Notwithstanding these solemn promises the city was occupied alternately by military forces of Austria and Russia, and in 1846 it was absorbed by the Austrian Empire under an agreement of November 6, 1846, which contains the following provisions:

"A convention between Austria, Prussia and Russia uniting the Free City of Cracow to the Austrian Monarchy:—The three courts of Austria, Russia and Prussia considering the conspiracy which took place in the month of February, 1846, in the Grand Duchy of Posen, in Cracow and in Galicia, and considering that Cracow became the seat of a central authority calling itself a Revolutionary government, and considering that there was, moreover, little question of exercising towards Cracow an act of vengeance or inflicting a punishment, but that the High Contracting Powers desired only to restore order and peace to the Territory of Cracow, the three courts revoke the articles relative to the city of Cracow and transfer its territory to the court of Austria for the purpose of being reunited to the Austrian Monarchy."

The state set up in 1815 was a purely artificial creation, as a compromise for the moment between the jealousies of the three interested Powers. It had little or no historical or national justification, and no strong natural boundaries. Its independence, naturally, was never more than nominal, since it could not be supported by the Republic's own force. Not only its existence, but even its internal laws and administration depended on the good will of the guarantors and its external relations were determined solely by the latter's interests. The treaty itself includes the term "Protectorate," together with terms such as "Free City," "independent" and "strictly

neutral," terms contradictory and inconsistent with sovereignty of a state.

The short life of the Republic of Cracow illustrates the impossibility of setting up artificial states. Territory and men are not all the essentials for the formation of a state. It must have the inherent impelling force consciously or unconsciously existing among the people and striving towards the realization of their own ideal of independence. Without this a state is always a soulless being and its nominal existence never more than temporary.

The pretence for the destruction of the Republic of Cracow was the alleged violation of the clause prohibiting the granting of asylum to refugees, deserters and men under prosecution by the guaranteeing Powers. In fact, it was simply the finding that the existence of the Republic was against the interests of the autocratic and reactionary Courts of these Powers. In regard to the question of asylum, we may note that at the Congress of Vienna of 1814-15 it was viewed in an entirely different light when Switzerland was under consideration than when the Republic of Cracow was the topic. In the case of Switzerland the right to afford asylum to refugees was considered, at least by some of the diplomats, as one of the reasons for making the declaration of independence and neutrality; and naturally it was strongly defended by the Swiss delegates, especially the liberal Pictet de Rochemont. It is interesting to note in a letter by the latter, of September 18, 1815, the following incident in a conversation between the Emperor Alexander and the Archduke Johann of Austria and between the Archduke and Pictet himself:

“ . . . La note, que j'avais dictée a M. de Wessenberg et que j'avais en poche, a prouvé a l'archduc que nous étions parfaitement d'accord. Il m'a dit que déjà hier en arrivant il avait servi mes vues en parlant a l'empereur d'Autriche et a l'empereur Alexandre. J'ai dit a celui-ci: Comment voulez-vous que la Suisse soit réellement neutre, si elle n'a pas une frontière militaire? Ne faut-il pas qu'il y ait un lieu ou les honnêtes gens persecutés, ou la pensée comprimée puisse trouver un asyle? Il m'a pris les mains avec émotion et m'a dit: Oh, que j'aime à vous entendre parler ainsi.”

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No such considerations played a part in the erection of the Republic of Cracow.

The Neutralization of Belgium.

Belgium became an independent state after the revolution of 1830, under the conditions of perpetual neutrality as set by the Powers. The territories of the present state of Belgium were, before the French revolution, under the sovereignty of the Austrian Monarchy, a relation dating from the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, when the Spanish-Habsburg dominions were divided after the long struggle for the succession to the Spanish throne. In 1795 the first rising for national independence occurred. But Belgium was invaded by the armies of the French Republic and became, with Holland, a part of the French Empire during the Napoleonic period. At the Congress of Vienna, France was reduced to its limits as they had existed on the first of January, 1792. Belgium, however, instead of being given back to the sovereignty of the Austrian Monarch, was united with Holland under the King of the Netherlands.

The union with Holland was never popular in Belgium and constant friction was displayed during the next fifteen years. Various reasons contributed to this state of things; the chief ones, beyond doubt, were the traditional differences in temperament between the maritime Hollanders and the agricultural and industrial Belgians, the historical, and especially religious differences between the Catholic Belgians and Protestant Dutch. The natural antipathy was accentuated by political causes, such as the inferior representation of more populous Belgium in the national chambers of the union, and the attempts of King William at arbitrary rule in the newly added dominions of his realm.

The echoes of the July revolution encouraged the Belgians to rise against the Dutch régime. Revolts broke out in Brussels on the occasion of the birthday celebration of King William on August 25, 1830. The rising soon spread over the whole country, and by September the Dutch power had disappeared from every town except Antwerp. King William appealed to the Powers for help to quell the rebellion. But none

interfered. The courts were conscious that revolution was seething in their own countries, and recognizing the determination and bitterness of the Belgian rising, the question was referred to a conference of the five Powers, England, France, Prussia, Russia and Austria, the Kingdom of the Netherlands being also admitted. While the conference deliberated at London, the Belgian National Congress, which was meeting in Brussels and had already set up a provisional government, proclaimed the independence of the country on November 10, 1830, under a "constitutional and representative monarchy," with the perpetual exclusion of the House of Orange-Nassau. In December the Powers officially recognized the separation of Belgium from Holland and its political independence. In April, 1831, the crown of Belgium, after some difficulties in finding a monarch suitable to all the Powers, was offered to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who accepted it on the condition that the Powers would use their influence to bring about a settlement with Holland. The Dutch government objected to such a solution and the Prince of Orange attempted once more to regain the lost country by force, but on the intervention of France and England and the entrance of a French army of 50,000 men into Belgium, the Dutch General Chasse was forced to withdraw the garrison from Antwerp.

On October 24, 1831, the Powers framed a second treaty of twenty-four articles. By these articles the frontiers of Belgium were defined nearly as they are to-day, joining the western portion of Luxemburg with Belgium, and leaving the mouth of the Scheldt to Holland; Antwerp was declared an open town. Accepted by the Belgium congress, the twenty-four articles on November 15, 1831, were embodied in a treaty between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia and the Kingdom of Belgium, a twenty-fifth article being added providing for the guarantee of the perpetual neutrality of Belgium. Holland, not a party to the treaty, refused to recognize it and formulated a protest against it, finding some support at the courts of Austria and Prussia. Upon pressure from France and England, the Dutch government submitted to the terms of the Powers, though with Dutch obstinacy the actual facts were not recognized till 1839, when Holland form-

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ally acceded to the twenty-fifth providing for the guarantee of neutrality. In this sense the matter was finally settled in three treaties, one between Belgium and Holland, and one between the five Powers and Holland and Belgium respectively.

The main provisions relating to the perpetual neutrality of Belgium are the following:

“Treaty between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia and Russia and Belgium, relative to the separation of Belgium and Holland, London, 15th November, 1831.

“Article 7: Belgium within the limits specified shall form an independent and perpetually neutral state. It shall be bound to observe such neutrality toward all other states.

“Article 15: The port of Antwerp in conformity with the stipulations of Article 15 of the Treaty of Paris of the 10th of May, 1814, shall continue to be solely a port of commerce.

“Article 25: The courts of Great Britain, Austria, France, Russia and Prussia guarantee to His Majesty the King of the Belgians the execution of all the preceding articles.”

By a treaty signed at London on the 14th of December, 1831, between Belgium, England, Austria, France and Russia, it was further provided that “the fortification of Ath Mons, Menin, Philippeville and Marinbourg shall be demolished,” while another article adds that “the King of the Belgians binds himself to preserve the others in good condition.” A declaration of the four Powers of January 23, 1832, modifies these provisions in the sense that “the stipulations of the 14th of December shall be undertaken only under the reserve of full and entire sovereignty of the King of the Belgians over the fortresses indicated in the said convention.” Relying on the guarantee of the neutrality of the country, the Belgian government urged the demolition not only of the said fortresses but also the greater number of those retained under the convention.

There are evident differences between the neutralization of Switzerland—if such the declaration of November, 1815, could be called—and that of Belgium in 1831 and 1839. While the former was merely the recognition of a pre-existing condition of national neutrality without imposing any new or spe-

cial obligation on the state, the latter established a new international position for a newly created state.

Nothing whatever is said in the case of Switzerland as to destruction or establishment of fortresses or the maintenance of other means of defence. On the contrary it has always been regarded as a duty on the part of Switzerland to do the utmost possible in preparation for an effective defence on all sides; and only so long as the different adjoining Powers are confident that in case of war their flank is covered by the impartial and faithful self-defence of Switzerland can the latter rely on the neutrality being respected.

In Switzerland neutrality as a permanent policy was deep rooted in the popular will, while that of Belgium was ordained by the Powers without regard to the people's wish and, as Wicker says, "to judge from writers of the time, against the will of many or at least without their full consent."

The declaration in the case of Switzerland was framed by the Swiss delegate, Pictet de Rochemont, representing the interests of Switzerland and the wishes of the Swiss people, and insisting on having it appear in the act that the neutrality was not a gift from the Powers but the wish of a sovereign independent state. In the case of Belgium the achievement of independence was the state's own act, but the setting up of permanent neutrality, involving special obligations and restrictions, came from the outside, and was for the new state a retrogressive step.

Belgium, since her constitution into an independent and perpetually neutral state, has conscientiously fulfilled the obligations placed upon her by the neutralization and followed, as far as the home state is concerned, a faithful conduct of neutrality towards the surrounding states. In how far colonial expansion, as in the annexation of the Congo Free State to Belgium, can be regarded as consistent with permanent neutrality, may be a point of contention. It certainly does not seem quite logical for a state to have a free hand in extending its territory and influence overseas while the home state is under protection of the Powers. Of course this is not meant to question Belgium's right to colonization, but rather to show the impossibility of creating permanent conditions by a pro-

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cess of neutralization. As to the European policy of Belgium, it has certainly given no reason for complaint. Even Germany's assiduous fishing in the documents of her prey has not brought forth a single proof of breach of faith toward any neighboring state before the outbreak of the present war. One thing is clear, neutralization has not proved adequate to assure Belgium's security. Before the present war the neutrality of Belgium was in danger of being disregarded at different times and once even the state's existence was threatened. Belgium narrowly escaped being torn up in 1866 when Emperor Napoleon III opened negotiations with Prussia regarding the partition of its territory. It is said that only the unaccountable hesitation on the part of Napoleon III prevented the carrying out of the project. During the Franco-Prussian war the territory of Belgium remained inviolate, although twice threatened, once by the retreating French and once by the victorious Prussians. Special treaties to assure the safety of Belgium were concluded in 1870 by the efforts of the British Government, with Gladstone at its head, first with Prussia and then with France, providing for a military alliance and co-operation with either of these powers in case the other belligerent should violate Belgian neutrality. Obviously Gladstone did not trust very much to the former treaties as an assurance that Belgium's neutrality would be respected.

The pitiful fate of Belgium in the present war is too well known to need comment. The guarantee of neutrality by the Powers did not prevent a devastating invasion. Had Belgium been an entirely independent state, it would not have trusted to a sham security, and better preparations to meet a possible violation would likely have been made. Belgium also would have been free to enter into defensive alliances upon the approach of any danger. The invasion would perhaps not have been averted but certainly the catastrophe for Belgium could hardly have been worse under any other arrangement.

The Neutralization of Luxembourg.

Luxembourg formed in the eighteenth century, with Belgium, a part of the Austrian Netherlands. By the Congress of Vienna the province was formed into a Grand Duchy under

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the sovereignty of the King of the Netherlands. In 1830 many of the Luxembourgers threw in their lot with the revolutionaries of Belgium. In the treaties of 1831 separating Belgium and Holland, the western portion of Luxembourg was incorporated with Belgium and the remaining portion, less than half the original province, but more populous and containing the city of Luxembourg, continued as a Grand Duchy under the King of Holland. In 1839 the King, as Grand Duke of Luxembourg, signed a treaty placing the Duchy under the protectorate of the Powers. For the next twenty-five years the history of Luxembourg was uneventful.

Dependent upon the crown of Holland, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg nevertheless formed part of the Germanic Confederation and the city, as a fortress of the confederation, was garrisoned by Prussian troops. In 1866 the war between Austria and Prussia broke up the German Confederation, which was finally dissolved by Article 4 of the Treaty of Prague on August 23, 1866. A North German Confederation was formed under Prussian headship into which, however, Luxembourg did not enter. The King of Holland seemed ready to sell his rights to France, after negotiations to this effect had been favored by Prussia before the war to assure the French Emperor's neutrality. Austria protested against such a plan and also Prussia, after a quick settlement with Austria, was no longer in favor of French aggrandizement. A way out of the difficulty was found by the Congress of the Powers which met in London in 1867. There Great Britain, Austria, France, Italy, Holland, Prussia, Russia, and Belgium agreed that Luxembourg should remain an independent Grand Duchy under the House of Orange Nassau, and be placed in a state of permanent neutrality in the same way as Belgium. Lord Stanier, the British plenipotentiary, proposed a mere recognition of the neutrality without any guarantee. But in the treaty signed on May 11, 1867, Great Britain joined in a collective guarantee by the Powers of the independence and perpetual neutrality of Luxembourg.

The main provisions of this treaty are as follows:

"Article 2. The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, within the limits determined by the act annexed to the treaties of the 19th

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of April, 1839, under the guarantee of the courts of Great Britain, Austria, France, Russia and Prussia, shall henceforth form a perpetually neutral State. It shall be bound to observe the same neutrality towards all other States. The High Contracting Parties engage to respect the principle of neutrality stipulated by the present article. That principle is and remains placed under the sanction of the collective guarantee of the Powers signing the present treaty, with exception of Belgium, which is itself a neutral State.

“Article 3. The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg being neutralized, according to the terms of the preceding article, the maintenance or establishment of Fortresses upon its territory becomes without necessity as well as without object.”

“In consequence it is agreed by common consent that the city of Luxembourg, considered in time past in a military point of view as a Federal Fortress, shall cease to be a fortified city.

“His Majesty the King Grand Duke reserves to himself to maintain in that city the number of troops necessary to provide in it the maintenance of good order.

“Article 5. His Majesty the King Grand Duke engages on his part to take the necessary measures for converting the said fortress into an open city by means of demolitions which His Majesty shall deem sufficient in order to fulfil the intentions of the High Contracting Parties. His Majesty the King Grand Duke promises moreover that the fortifications of the city of Luxembourg shall not be restored in future and that no military establishment shall be there created or maintained.”

In 1890, on the death of the King of Holland, the throne of Luxembourg passed to the Duke Adolf von Nassau, since by the constitution of the Grand Duchy a female was incapable of accepting the crown. Thus the dynastic union with Holland ceased without changing the status of the Grand Duchy.

Luxembourg remained, at the time of its constitution into an independent and neutralized state, in customs union with Germany, a status which continues to the present day.

The restrictions placed on Belgium were carried to the extreme in the case of Luxembourg. The maintenance of the

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only fortress was prohibited and no other defence beyond a police guard for the maintenance of internal order allowed to the Luxembourg government. The state thus depended for its existence on the guarantee of the Powers alone. The international status was therefore never one of self-decision but amounted practically to a protectorate. Its independence as a state was secure as long as the balance of power remained formally the same, but when this was disturbed it became the football of the Powers without any ability to resist being tossed about by the latter or to decide its own fate.

Luxembourg passed safely through the Franco-Prussian war in 1870-71, although not without being threatened by invasion. In a note of December 3rd, 1870, Bismarck declared to the Powers that "the German Government needed no longer to take into consideration in its military operations the neutrality of the Grand Duchy," in case the latter should be traversed by the retreating army of MacMahon. Alleged transit of French wounded and dispatch of provisions for Thionville over Luxembourg railways gave at several times occasion for protests from Germany to the Powers. These violations of neutrality were, however, denied and the German threat was not carried out.

In the present war Luxembourg was occupied by German troops at the very outset of the hostilities between Germany and France in the eventful days of July, 1914, at the same time with the invasion of Belgium. While the latter could at least to some extent oppose the violation and with its own blood establish the respect and right for a future independence, Luxembourg, being prohibited to keep an army, was at once at the mercy of the invaders.

Neutralization of the Basin of the Congo.

An international agreement regarding the Basin of the Congo, effected at the West African conference held in Berlin in 1885, was called "Neutralization." The United States of America took part at that conference and it was their plenipotentiary, Mr. Kasson, who proposed the "permanent neutrality" for the entire Basin, guaranteed as well as respected

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by all signatory Powers. A plan less sweeping than this was adopted in the general act of February 26, 1885.

The act was in its aspect a trade agreement among the interested Powers in regard to the territories concerned. It declares the Congo Basin as a free trade zone, forbids any differential dues on vessels, any duties on merchandise beyond the tolls necessary for the upkeep of navigation and trade, or the granting of monopolies or special privileges by any of the Powers exercising sovereign rights over the territory forming part of it. The Powers bind themselves to respect the neutrality of the territories of the Congo, comprising therein the territorial waters, "so long as the Powers which exercise or shall exercise the rights of Sovereignty or Protectorate over those territories, using their option of proclaiming themselves neutral, shall fulfil the duties which neutrality requires." Article xi provides that in case of war between any of the Powers "then the High Signatory Parties to the present act shall bind themselves to lend their good offices in order that the territories belonging to this Power and comprised in the conventional free trade zone shall, by the common consent of this Power and the other belligerent or belligerents, be placed during the war under the rules of neutrality, and considered as belonging to a non-belligerent state, the belligerents thenceforth abstaining from extending hostilities to the territories thus neutralized and from using them as a base for warlike operations."

The act, signed by the United States, Great Britain, Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Portugal, Sweden and Norway and Turkey, requires each party only to respect the neutrality, but none is bound to do anything to cause others to respect it, which has been called a "guarantie restreinte."

In April, 1885, the Congo Free State was recognized as an independent state by the United States and later by almost all the Powers of Europe. On August 1, 1885, Leopold, King of Belgium, who had become head of the independent state as head of the Belgian International Society in the Congo region, informed the United States, "that in conformity with Article x of the general act of the Treaty of Berlin, the Independent

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State of Congo hereby declares itself perpetually neutral and claims the advantages guaranteed by Chap. 3 of the same act, at the same time that it assumes the duties that neutrality imposes." Whether King Leopold as head of a private company enjoyed any sovereign rights over the territory and was entitled to declare this neutrality and whether without any formal recognition by all Powers the status became one of right may be questioned.

Under the will of King Leopold the sovereign rights of the Belgian monarch over that area were transferred to the Belgian state, and the cession took place formally at the death of King Leopold. To-day therefore the Congo Free State is a Belgian colony, and its status of neutrality is a somewhat undefined quality.

The Ionian Islands.

By a treaty made in Paris in November, 1815, between Great Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia, the seven islands scattered along the coast from Epiros to the extreme south of Morea were constituted into a single free and independent state under the name of the "United States of the Ionian Islands," and this state was placed under the sole protection of Great Britain. After the constitution of a Greek Kingdom in 1833, there was continuous agitation among the islands in favor of union with Greece. Attached by racial ties and sympathy, many fought with their Greek brethren in the struggle for independence. In 1863, when the vacant throne of Greece was filled at the instance of the Powers, the Ionian Islands were given over to the King of Greece to be maintained in permanent neutrality. In the treaty effecting this and signed by England, Austria, France, Prussia and Russia on November 14, 1863, Article 2 provides "that the Ionian Islands, after their union with the Kingdom of Greece, shall enjoy the advantages of a perpetual neutrality." "The High Contracting Parties engage to respect the principle of neutrality stipulated by the present article." No guarantee is here attached to neutralization. Article 3 of the treaty, however, provides that "as a necessary consequence of the neutrality thus to be enjoyed by the United States of the Ionian Islands, the fortifica-

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tion constructed on the Island of Corfu and its immediate dependencies, having no longer any object, shall be demolished."

In 1864, upon an appeal of the Islands to be definitely united to Greece and to be allowed to take part again in the latter's struggle for national independence, the scope of the neutrality was restricted to the islands of Corfu and Paxo. This condition was the formal status of the last two islands up to the outbreak of the present war.

Whether the neutrality of Corfu and Paxo had still any practical meaning is doubtful. The islands form a part of the Hellenic Kingdom. In the present war, after the entering of Turkey into the conflict, the islands were occupied by forces of Great Britain and France and are used as a base for Mediterranean operations. The neutrality decreed did not in any way protect them from being drawn into the zone of war and used for military purposes.

The Samoan Islands.

By the general act of the Treaty of Berlin of June 14, 1889, between the United States, Germany and Great Britain, the Samoan Islands were declared to be "neutral territory in which the citizens and subjects of the three Signatory Powers have equal rights of residence, trade and personal protection." By the convention between the same Powers signed at Washington December 2, 1899, after the Islands had been assigned to Germany as sole possessor, the provisions of the general Berlin act of 1889 was revoked and "all the previous treaties, conventions and agreements relating to Samoa are annulled."

The Neutralization of the Black Sea.

The term neutralization was used in the treaty of Paris, 1856, signed by Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sweden and Turkey. Article xi says: "The Black Sea is neutralized; its waters and ports, thrown open to the Mercantile Marine of every Nation, are formally and in perpetuity interdicted to the Flag of War, either of the Powers possessing its coast or of any other Power, with the exceptions as to Light Ships mentioned in the present Treaty." This and other

stipulations, then obviously intended to prevent Russia from further aggressive policy towards the Turkish Empire, were revoked in 1871 by the Treaty of London, when Russia availed herself of the opportunity afforded by the Franco-Prussian war to throw off the restrictions imposed upon her.

Neutralization of Rivers and Canals.

By a European commission in 1856 an act was also framed providing for the freedom of navigation on the Lower Danube and declaring that "the staff and works of the commission are to enjoy the benefits of neutrality."

Of a similar nature were the agreements arrived at in a treaty of June 9, 1815, by the Congress of Vienna regarding the navigation of the Rhine River. According to these "the navigation along the whole course of the said river from the point where it becomes navigable to the sea shall be entirely free and not in respect to commerce be prohibited to anyone." The Powers whose states are crossed or separated by the Rhine engage to regulate by common consent all that concerns its navigation. One clause provides that customs should "equally be collected in case of war."

By Article 5 of the treaty of July 23, 1881, between the Argentine Republic and Chili, it is declared: "The Straits of Magellan are neutralized forever, and their free navigation is guaranteed to the flags of all nations. To insure this neutrality and freedom it is agreed that no fortifications of military defences which might interfere therewith shall be erected."

Provisions for the equal use of the Suez Canal by vessels of commerce of all nations were contained in the concession to the French engineer M. de Lesseps by the Khedive Said of Egypt in 1856 and in an agreement between the Canal company and the Egyptian government in 1866. Certain protestations by M. de Lesseps against alleged breach of neutrality on the part of England, which in the Egyptian campaign occupied territory near the canal, received no support, but subsequent negotiations resulted in the neutralization of the Canal by the Convention of the Powers in 1888, ratified at Constantinople on October 22. Article 1 provides that "the Suez Maritime Canal shall always be free and open in time of war as in time

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of peace, to every vessel of commerce or of war without distinction of flag. The canal shall never be subjected to the exercise of the right of blockade." In Article 4 the Powers "agree that no right of war, no act of hostility nor any act having for its object to obstruct the free navigation of the canal shall be committed in the canal and its ports of access as well as within a radius of three marine miles from those ports even though the Ottoman Empire should be one of the belligerent Powers." In other articles the conduct of vessels in the use of the canal, the rights and obligations of the Powers are outlined in detail.

To-day the stipulations of the neutralization of the Suez Canal are of little avail, an example illustrating how conditions change regardless of any treaties. The canal is to-day in British hands and fortified by Great Britain. At the conclusion of the Panama Canal treaty with the United States of America, Great Britain claimed for the Suez Canal the rights accorded to the United States as regards fortification of the Panama Canal. The impossibility of complying with the provisions of the treaty of 1888 under the present circumstances is too apparent to need comment.

The subject of a number of treaties in which the terms neutrality and neutralization are used in various senses has been the construction of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. Thus in a treaty between the United States and New Granada, in 1846, the former guarantees "the perfect neutrality" of the Isthmus and "the rights of sovereignty and property of New Granada thereover." In a treaty between the United States and Nicaragua in 1867, granting the United States right of transit between the Atlantic and Pacific, this power guarantees the "neutrality and innocent use" of the routes of communication. In the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 between the United States and Great Britain, the contracting parties agree to guarantee the "neutrality" of the Canal which it was then supposed would soon be built between the Atlantic and the Pacific. The subject has been regulated between the two Powers in the Treaty of November 18, 1901, commonly called the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. In this the United States "adopts as the basis of the neutralization of such ship canal, the fol-

lowing Rules, substantially as embodied in the Convention of Constantinople, signed the 22nd of October, 1888, for the free navigation of the Suez Canal, that is to say; . . .” Whereupon there follows a detailed enumeration of the rights and obligations of the United States towards the Canal and Canal Zone.

The chief provisions of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty are also reproduced in a treaty between the United States and Panama concluded on November 18, 1913. Article 18 of this act says that “the canal when constructed and the entrance thereto shall be neutral in perpetuity, and shall be opened upon the terms provided for by section 1 of article 3 of and in conformity with all the stipulations of the treaty entered into by the governments of the United States and Great Britain on November 18, 1901.”

In these treaties the United States, however, reserves to itself the right to erect fortifications within the zone and upon the neighboring islands for the protection of this neutrality, and Article 23 of the latter treaty provides that “if it should become necessary at any time to employ armed forces for the safety or protection of the canal, or the railways and auxiliary works, the United States shall have the right, at all times and in its discretion to use its police and its land and naval forces or to establish fortifications for this purpose.”

A formal agreement, amounting in a sense to neutralization, was entered into by exchange of notes between Great Britain and the United States on April 28 and 29, 1817, regarding a reduction and regulation of armaments on the American Lakes. By this agreement the lake forces were reduced on both sides to the minimum necessary for police duty, customs and revenue service. The agreement has continued uninterrupted, save for a flurry during the Civil War, to the present day, and has kept all war-like operations away from the waters on both shores.

The lighthouse and semaphore on Cape Spartel are neutralized by a treaty of May 31, 1865, providing for a neutrality renewable in periods of ten years. The semaphore was erected by the Lloyds and is guarded by Moroccan soldiers. In a convention of January 27, 1892, it was provided that “this sema-

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phore, which is erected solely in the interests of navigation, shall not cease to be operated in case of international war upon the demands of a single Power."

Some Early Attempts at Neutralization.

In a treaty of July 25, 1791, between Leopold II and the King of Prussia, the Court of Russia was invited, for the purpose of preventing a second partition of Poland, to join in an agreement to maintain the boundaries and free constitution of Poland. The treaty concludes: "The interests and the tranquility of the Powers adjoining Poland render it highly desirable that there should be established among them an agreement capable of eliminating all jealousy or apprehension of preponderance of power. The Courts of Vienna and Berlin unite and invite the Court of Russia to unite with them in undertaking in no way to alter the integrity or the maintenance of the free constitution of Poland." This treaty, however, disappeared in the subsequent agreement for the second partition of Poland.

The General Recess of the German Empire" following the peace of Luneville accorded "perpetual neutrality to the six free and independent cities, Augsburg, Lübeck, Nuremberg, Frankfurt, Bremen and Hamburg "as long as they shall remain members of the Empire and refrain from such hostilities as the Holy Empire might undertake in the future."

An attempt to neutralize the Island of Malta was made at the Peace of Amiens in 1802 between France and England. Either Power feeling the importance of the Island apprehended the granting it wholly to the other. The Courts of Spain and Naples were considered as disinterested protectors of the neutrality but found incapable of the task. Finally, after the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, then proprietors of the island, had relinquished their rule, which involved perpetual warfare with the infidel, a treaty was signed, terminating the perpetual hostilities which existed between the Barbary States and the Order of St. John, and proclaiming "the perpetual neutrality of the Order and the Island of Malta." This agreement never received the ratification of the Powers and in the following wars with Napoleon it definitely fell to Great Britain.

Some Critical Considerations on the Doctrine of Neutralization.

If we review the various international agreements and treaties, which had for their object neutralization in some form or other, the question puts itself whether any clearly defined doctrine can be derived therefrom. Here at once theory and reality come into conflict. Though there was in most of these treaties, outwardly regarded, a common purpose, namely the removal from the sphere of war of the territories and waters referred to, yet if we inquire into the individual causes and circumstances and regard them in the light of historical developments, there remains little similarity between them, and moreover the actual course of things has defied so many of the provisions as to make the doctrine in its usual conception appear to rest on weak foundations.

Before a clear view of our problem can be gained it must be pointed out that in what has been termed and is generally regarded as neutralization there are two fundamentally different principles confused, namely: on the one hand the neutralization of independent sovereign states, and on the other, the neutralization of inanimate objects, such as canals, straits, lakes, and rivers. By many writers on International Law and on Neutralization this distinction has been either entirely overlooked or not been clearly pointed out. Wicker defines neutralization as "the imposition by international agreement of a condition of permanent neutrality upon lands and waterways." To say that neutralization can be applied to states, provinces of states, canals and inland seas is as logical as to say that music can be played by men, violins, flutes and drums.

Canals, lakes, rivers, inland seas, and also land or territory as such, are inanimate things, politically regarded, with no voice or life of their own. They are the passive substrata, the soil as it were, on which the political associations and nations grow. The continuous struggle and contest for the space and the other requisites for the life of states and nations is the essence of history and political evolution. While the exclusive jurisdiction over its land is an essential necessity for the life and sovereignty of a modern state, and while most of the land of the globe is claimed as the possession of particular

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states, the same is not the case in regard to the larger water surfaces. The high seas has long been regarded as neutral by its nature. As to international canals, rivers and inland seas which traverse or are adjoined by different states, their common use and the rights over them have often been the object of international agreements. In many of such agreements the term neutralization has been applied. Most of these transactions were effected to further friendly intercourse between the nations and the free and equal use for commercial purposes of the waters referred to by all nations in times of peace. Such treaties—an absolute necessity to regulate the modern economic world relations—have proved eminently successful. As far as neutralization attempted to remove such waters from the sphere of war, however, it has in many instances proven an illusion. Treaties like the Black Sea neutralization measure were motived chiefly by political reasons. Others, while beneficial for peace times, could not stand the test of war, or the irresistible hand of time has changed the grouping of powers in such a way, that the objects of the treaty were lost even before it came to a test. Moreover, in many of these treaties the permanent neutrality which they purported to create was combined explicitly or implicitly with a protectorate by one Power; so in the Panama Canal treaties the United States reserves the right to use its land and water forces in the Canal and to fortify the Canal and its entrances, while in others, such as the agreement between Argentine and Chili regarding the strait of Magellan, or in the Great Lakes agreement between the United States and Canada, this is explicitly forbidden.

Similar to the neutralization of canals and other waterways are international treaties regarding protectorates, colonization, spheres of influence, trading rights and the like in less developed parts of the world, or as to the neutralization of small islands on international navigation routes for the equal use as depots and coaling stations by all nations.

In all such treaties the objects themselves are not party to the arrangement. It is simply an agreement between the contracting Powers as to the common use, the property rights, privileges and obligations in respect to these canals, rivers,

lakes, lighthouses, colonizing territories, trade spheres, etc. Much unnecessary friction and probably unnecessary wars can be avoided by treaties of this kind. But the essential factors that make wars from time to time they are unable to reach. War once broken out is the opposite of treaty rights: the spontaneous suspension of vested arrangements to create the basis for new ones. War would not achieve its function in the political evolution of mankind, if it could be made to follow prescribed lines.

We are here, however, chiefly concerned with the question of neutrality of states. As pointed out above, this presents a problem of an entirely different nature, notwithstanding the superficial similarity with the other forms of neutralization. A state is more than mere territory and more even than the sum of all its citizens. In the neutralization of states the affected state becomes not only the object of but at the same time a party to the contract. The general conception of such states is that their "permanent neutrality is guaranteed by the great Powers of Europe, on condition that they do not go to war except for defence of their own territory when attacked and do not in time of peace enter into any agreement which might lead them into hostilities for other than purely defensive purposes (Lawrence, *Int. Law*, p. 147). Neutralization is thus considered as, in the words of Wicker, "a contractual relationship, which shall exist permanently between all parties concerned, requiring from the neutralized state a continuous observance of peace towards all the world and from the guarantors the recognition of that state in integrity, independence and perpetual peace." The existing states thus classed as neutralized are Switzerland, Belgium and Luxembourg.

There are, however, obvious objections to this view.

In the first place it must be asked: is neutralization consistent with the nature and sovereignty of the state? We must doubt it. The state is not merely men's conscious creation; it arises out of man's nature. The citizens are not only part of the state, but the state is part of the individual's nature, and exists without his conscious will, even in spite of it. The very fact that man is so much a "political animal" accounts for the

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other fact that the nature of the state is so little understood. It still belongs too much to the yet obscure spheres of human nature to have emerged to our full consciousness. The adage of the old Lao Tse, "Clear sees he who sees from afar, and nebulous he who takes part" is especially true in reference to the nature of the state. The contract theory of the state is pretty generally refuted and not least decidedly by English writers. As a state cannot at pleasure be created by a contract, no more can an artificial state be set up by other states or by the governments or delegates of a few other Powers, nor can for that matter even a prince, government, or parliament contract away essential rights of sovereignty of a state in a binding way for all future generations.

Every state must exist of itself, and full autonomy and sovereignty are essential for its life. Full sovereignty of a state, however, cannot be imagined without the essential right to war or neutrality. To so-called neutralized states—if such were a reality—this right is denied. By neutralization a class of states essentially different from others is supposed to be created. It puts the neutralized states under obligations which the guaranteeing states do not share and thus presupposes an essential difference as to sovereignty between the two classes. Without the right to war on the part of the guaranteeing powers, neutralization itself would have no meaning and by this the Powers themselves admit that neutralized states are exceptions and under conditions to which they themselves would not submit. It was on account of this view that Switzerland was not invited as a party to the neutralization of Belgium and that in the neutralization of Luxemburg, Belgium was expressly excluded from the signers of the treaty, it "being itself a neutralized state." As there has not yet been established above the state any binding law with an authority to enforce it (except the general laws of humanity), and as full sovereignty implies complete independence and freedom of action, highest authority, this condition does not any longer exist for a neutralized state. Neutralization and full state sovereignty are therefore inconsistent with each other. If they were not, then all states could be neutralized, a thing impossible and contradictory in itself.

The doctrine of neutralization of states bases its premises on the permanent neutrality of some states. But to imagine that such can be imposed from without for all times is a misconception both of neutrality and of the state. Neutrality is an attitude in the struggle for life of a state equally with war. It can, whether permanent or occasional, arise from within alone. Not only can neutrality not be imposed from without, but a state itself cannot trade it away without endangering or destroying its own sovereignty. For the state is supreme over its own citizens and neither they nor their government can deal with the state or its essential rights as with a piece of property. It may be objected that the neutralized state only renounces the right to offensive war and receives in return protection from the Powers. But there is no clear distinction between offensive and defensive wars. The important wars that decide the course of history do not begin with the first act of hostility—except in a legal sense. A state that renounces its right to war, even if it never intends to make use of it, sells therewith its birthright and loses its place as a sovereign member of the family of states. It places its life in other hands and exists as long as it is in the goodwill, or rather the interests of its guarantors. If it is not gradually absorbed by one or more of the latter it is in danger of perishing in one of those eruptions that from time to time sweep over the civilized world, unless there is sufficient vitality and state consciousness in it, independently or in spite of its neutralization. If on a state that had risen to independence the restrictions of neutralization are imposed it is the beginning of the destruction of its sovereignty as soon as it has been won. Purely artificial creations cannot be made permanent by neutralization, nor can they ever be more than protectorates. Such buffer-states are set up in the interests of the guaranteeing Powers as a barrier between themselves as rivals.

A contract to last perpetually would imply that the parties should remain substantially the same. But things in the political world do not in reality long remain the same, and especially so the relations between states and their groupings. Changes may be brought about imperceptibly and indirectly

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by changes in quite distant parts of the world. In the modern civilization of the world the influence and interests and power of states are not limited by their political frontiers. Any alterations, wherever they occur, influence practically all Powers directly or indirectly. At the time of the declaration of Swiss neutrality by the Powers in 1815, neither the present German Empire nor United Italy was in existence.

The chief motive for the neutralization of small states, on the part of the large Powers, is their mutual jealousy and latent enmity. If based only on the guarantee of such protectors the existence of a neutralized state must naturally always be a precarious one. While the practice of neutralization pretends to aim at the security and independence of the neutralized state, it is in fact motived by the rivalry of the guaranteeing Powers, of which some or all see in the neutralized state for the time a protection to themselves. Between the rivals who sooner or later will shoot at each other an innocent is placed who will first be exposed to the fire when the accumulated forces break the barrier.

Thus notwithstanding the fact that the doctrine of neutralization of states has found practical application, and has been widely accepted not only by popular writers but by authorities on international law, the expedient does not create permanent results, since it disregards the real nature of the state and of political evolution. Every epoch of history develops its own theories and doctrines and methods without, however, in the continuous flow of things ever reaching a final settlement. This is also recognized by Oppenheim, of the University of London, when he says in concluding his chapter on Neutralized States: "But Neutralized States are and must always be an exception. The family and law of nations could not be what they are if ever the number of Neutralized States should be much increased. It is neither in the interests of the Law of Nations nor in that of humanity that all small States should become neutralized, as thereby the political influence of the few great Powers would become still greater than it already is. The neutralized states still in existence—namely Switzerland, Belgium and Luxemburg—are a product of the nineteenth century only and it remains to be seen whether neutralization

can stand the 'test of history.'" (Oppenheim: International Law, vol. i, p. 15).

The most serious objections to the neutralization, however, come from within the neutralized state itself. The permanent engagements to which the neutralized state is bound and the restrictions as to military preparations and foreign relation under which it is placed must necessarily influence the whole social, economic and political development in an unnatural way and in the sense of making the state more and more dependent on its neighbors or its guarantors. The greatest danger of all lies in the imagined security and the trusting to protection from without, since this tends to weaken the national consciousness and the feeling of duty and responsibility on the part of the citizens towards the state. No more serious danger, though at first inconspicuous and not readily perceived by most, can be imagined than a spirit of indifference and apathy among the citizens. It is the dying out of the state's very soul, and the gradual undermining of its spiritual foundations. That such effects have not actually made themselves more felt in Belgium and Switzerland—for they have to a certain extent—is because a large number of patriotic citizens and statesmen in both these countries have from the beginning distrusted the guarantee of neutrality, and ever reminded the people that the security of the state can rest only on their own strength and readiness to defend it, while the relying on protection from the guarantors may prove a fatal deception. It is because the doctrine of neutralization has never really established itself in the minds of most citizens. This is especially the case in Switzerland where the policy of permanent neutrality is so firmly rooted that it can be regarded as a national characteristic of the people. And this furnishes the best proof of the fundamental difference between the principle of permanent neutrality as a maxim of the state's own policy and the illusory neutrality supposedly created by neutralization. In Switzerland the argument that the state was protected from without by the guarantee of the Powers, used in political discussion not unfrequently, especially by the socialistic section, had at times to be vigorously combated in order to bring success at the polls for measures necessary for

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the country's defence. The fruits of the determination of the majority are clearly apparent at the present day. But yet another danger has made itself seriously felt in Switzerland in late years. The imagined perpetual security from war—an inducement of special significance in our economic age—together with too lenient laws in regard to alien inhabitants and naturalization attracted such a strong immigration from surrounding countries, that in some cities (such as Zurich, Basel, Geneva, Luzano) the foreign element amounts to from 25 to 55 per cent. of the total population. The chief motive for many such immigrants is to escape their duties as citizens, especially as to military duty or service, in their own countries. While not taking upon themselves the duties of Swiss citizenship by naturalization, these elements at the same time very perceptibly influence the social and political life in these centres and constitute a real and growing danger in the sense of denationalizing the country and weakening the state. On the other hand, many of the best elements of Switzerland, Swiss with strong political instinct, not finding sufficient scope for its application, emigrate to foreign countries and are thus lost for the political development of the home country. It may be one of the blessings of the war for Switzerland if it awakens the whole population to the pressing necessity of reforming the immigration and naturalization laws. To some extent also a trust to security from war has aided in giving politics too great a trend toward industrialization. While the country's defence was in general not neglected, agriculture was seriously affected by this trend, until it succeeded more or less in adjusting its methods to the changed conditions. To no small degree the vigorous and highly developed agricultural organizations have not only preserved agriculture from being sacrificed entirely, but have raised it to an important factor in national politics, as the statesmen generally have recognized that the source of the life-blood of the nation still rests in the country and in a vigorous agricultural population. Thus in spite of all difficulties Switzerland has sufficiently preserved its state consciousness and national pride, and its position and responsibility among the states of Europe, to take an independent if difficult stand in the present conflict.

To what degree these detrimental effects of neutralization have worked in Belgium I am not able to judge definitely, but I am inclined to believe that they were even more serious there than in Switzerland, without at the same time being met with as strong counter-forces. The delusion no longer deceives most Belgians. This fact was clearly expressed when last winter a Belgian congress passed a resolution demanding never to submit the state again to neutralization by the Powers. In how far the fate of Belgium in the present world conflict would have been changed, had it never been neutralized, may be an idle conjecture. But at any rate it could not have been worse. Had Belgium in 1831 simply been recognized as an independent state, without imposing upon it the conditions of neutralization, it would no doubt to-day be a stronger state. Thrown upon its own responsibility it would have developed on more independent lines. The consciousness in a state that it depends on itself for its life is indispensable. It alone keeps the nation alert and prepared for eventualities, and can prevent it from slipping into a state of indifference. For it, neutralization by the Powers can at best substitute an imagined security, resulting in a state of helplessness and torpor in the moment of danger. Belgium would have likely provided for a more effective defence, and would in case of danger been free to enter alliances with other states. As an entirely independent state it would with all probability have called for more respect even on the part of Germany. Whatever will be the end of the war, Belgium will, if there lies in its nation the soul and force of a sovereign state—and this the writer firmly believes—rise to independence again, but in all probability no more as a neutralized state.

As to Luxemburg it is doubtful whether it will again continue its separate existence. Most likely it will be joined to France or Germany, according to the fortunes of the war, or perhaps reunited with Belgium.

It may be said in favor of neutralization that the states of Switzerland, Belgium, and Luxemburg have at least enjoyed periods of peace of comparatively long duration. The fact, though true, is misleading, as it is difficult to determine to

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what extent that was the result of the guarantees by the Powers. It is true also that these states have at different times of crises applied to the Powers and received support, moral and by diplomatic intervention, especially from Great Britain, when aggression or violation threatened them from other sides. So with Belgium in 1866 and during the Franco-Prussian war, also Luxemburg at the latter occasion, and Switzerland during the Sonderland crisis in 1847 and during the Neuchatel affair in 1856. In all probability, however, the intervening Powers would have acted in the same way from their own interests, as any disturbance of the equilibrium of the *status quo* would have affected them indirectly. In 1860, when Switzerland protested to the Powers against the annexation of the neutral portion of Savoy by France, the claim passed unheeded by all the governments, as remarked before. Belgium was readily assisted in her hour of peril in the present war, by Great Britain and France, but no one will seriously claim that these Powers were not at the same time defending their own vital interests.

The doctrine of neutralization of states has in late years been taken up by some of the pacifists and its more general application advocated as a means of bringing nearer the realization of a universal peace. It is argued that by neutralization small states, provinces, territories, islands and the like, coveted by several rival Powers, could for ever be removed from the field of war; that "through neutralization such countries could not only be made to enjoy a perpetual peace, but that they also would be freed from the burden of military and naval expenditure which weighs so heavy on the present and especially on the small states." It goes almost without saying, after the above analysis, that little, if any, permanent result in this direction can be hoped for from neutralization. The neutralization of Denmark has been suggested; the subject has been talked of and agitated in Norway, Sweden and Holland. But in none of these countries has it gained many advocates or any official consideration. The advantages that such a process might confer are obviously still viewed as a doubtful blessing by the majority of the people of those states. A

movement in Santa Domingo aimed at instructing the delegates of the republic to urge its neutralization at the Hague. Writers in England and America have advocated the neutralization of the Philippines and other islands of the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, and the proposal has its advocates in the daily press and in the legislature. Just in what form the neutralization is to take place is not quite clear and in all probability the Philippines will remain a protectorate of the United States for some time yet, for fear that they would be annexed by Japan as soon as left to themselves. By the Peace Congress of 1904, the question of neutralization was referred to the "Bureau International Permanent de la Paix" at Berne, Switzerland, but it is not known whether any report has been made upon the subject.

Like many others of the pacifists' proposals, the advancing neutralization as a means of attaining their aims is based on a misconception of the state and of war itself. For them war is a kind of primitive whim or vicious passion, stirred up by a few militarists or princes or private interests, but which has no necessary connection with the development of human societies. To be sure there are unnecessary wars, which can be prevented to the advantage of the progress of mankind. So far there is a useful field for pacifists; war no doubt should be prevented as far as is within men's power and reason. Yet war oftentimes plays a great part in the evolution of men and of states. New spheres, new aspects, new scope for the development of human faculties are opened; new living forces are raised from the darkness of our own nature into consciousness, to be turned to useful purposes in the advancement of mankind. As long as this is not recognized the meaning of war is not understood and the less can it be prevented. The doctrine of neutralization itself admits that it does not go to the root of the causes of war, as it presupposes the existence of non-neutralized states. It attempts to prevent a river from flowing down to the sea by damming it up in its full course, not by tapping the source. Peace on constraint is the peace of a lion in a cage. An artificial barrier, such as the neutralization of states, can never be an assured preventive of war.

THE NEUTRALIZATION OF STATES

Conclusions.

Our analyses and considerations in regard to the doctrine of neutralization of states lead us to the following conclusions:

1. The doctrine of neutralization is based on a misconception of permanent neutrality. The latter can only arise from within a state since peace and war or neutrality are inalienable rights for any autonomous state and can be decided by the state's own interests only, at any time and in every case or circumstance.

2. Neutralization necessarily divides states as to autonomy and sovereignty into two essentially different classes, which is inconsistent with the nature, aim and function of the state in human society.

3. While professing to be in the interest of peace to the neutralized state it is motived by the greater Powers' own interests, arising out of the rivalry and jealousy of the Powers among themselves, and can only serve their own ultimate ends.

4. It cannot be considered as furthering universal peace because it can create no lasting conditions of peace.

5. States existing or arising of themselves are weakened internally by neutralization, and the protection from the guarantors can never be certain, as long as the relations of the latter among themselves change, as change they must if progress is to continue.

The human mind in general and science in particular attempt to classify and order into systems the phenomena of nature. Often, however, fundamental differences are covered under outside similarities, and then classifications and definitions only aid in blurring the recognition of the real nature of things and the agencies in their evolution. Outward manifestations are taken as the thing itself. This, it occurs to the writer, is to a large degree the case when out of a few international treaties a doctrine of neutralization as a principle for practical application to autonomous states is derived, involving the assumption that permanent neutrality can be decreed by international agreement for an autonomous and sovereign state.

F. W. BAUMGARTNER.

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OF nineteenth century poets, it is Alfred de Musset whom most Frenchmen would keep in a chosen corner of their shelves, while they might be willing to share Hugo with the world at large, a little glad perhaps not to be too near the master's mighty organ-tones. It is of Musset that the sedate editor of the *Revue de Deux Mondes* says *qu'il a chanté avec plus de sincérité qu'aucun autre les douleurs d'une âme troublée*; and it is Musset again who calls forth from the critical Taine the ardent tribute of one who *a cru voir un auteur et a trouvé un homme*. "Read him! why every day we seem to hear him speak. A causerie of artists joking in some studio, a beautiful girl leaning out of her box at the theatre, a rain-washed street in which the dark pavement gleams, a fresh smiling morn in the woods at Fontainebleau, everything brings him back as if he were living yet. . . . Tel que le voilà nous l'aimons toujours, nous ne pouvons écouter un autre. Tous à côté de lui sont froids et menteurs: nous sortons à minuit de ce théâtre où il écoutait la Malibran, et nous entrons dans cette lugubre rue, où sur un lit payé son Rolla est venu dormir et mourir. Quoi! est-ce de cet ignoble lieu qu'est sorti le plus passionné des poèmes . . . du haut de son doute et de son désespoir il a vu l'infini, comme on voit la mer du haut d'un cap battu par les orages. Il a senti au moins cette fois dans sa vie cette tempête intérieure de sensations profondes, de rêves gigantesques et de voluptes intenses dont le désir l'a fait vivre et dont le manque l'a fait mourir."

There is the same warmth of feeling here as there is in the anguished pity with which his countrymen contemplate Burns' miserable decline and death or in the lines in which Arnold tells how

"Byron bore
With haughty scorn that mocked the smart,
Through Europe to the Æolian shore,
The pageant of his bleeding heart."

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What was it which gave Musset that place in French affections? Two reasons may be given. His part in the development of French poetry it may be said—so distant is Villon's *glas funèbre*, so faint the echo of Ronsard's lyre—was to sound that passionate personal note which was necessarily the very soul of the lyric movement. That field was marked out for him since in his own person, the sorrows of Werther, the sorrows of Byron were repeated, since his life was a battle to have his own way to the end, a battle which was lost where his will came into collision with her he loved, and since the main theme of his poetry was the refined presentation of that struggle. Here Hugo could not compete with him; since love after all is an *égoïsme à deux*, all those sensations he ignored. As a loving parent Hugo's *Stances à Villequier* are his title to immortality, but as partner in the sacrament of love he stands where the elder brother stood in generosity. It almost seems that Musset in a certain place is caricaturing him—with some injustice it must be said—when after a panegyric of the complete lover, he says:

Que celui-là rature et barbouille à son aise
Il peut tant qu'il voudra rimer à tour de bras,
Ravauder l'oripeau qu'on appelle l'antithèse
Et s'en aller ainsi jusqu'au Père La Chaise
Traînant à ses talons tour les sots d'ici-bas:
Grand homme si l'on veut; nais poète non pas.

But apart from these personal qualifications there is another reason deeper and more significant. The direct line of French poetry passes rather through de Musset than Victor Hugo. It would be a formidable task to endeavour to shift the latter from his place in the centre of the Panthéon of modern French poets, but this much may be said: Hugo enriched French poetry immensely. He showed what French was capable of as a poetic language. He brought out all manner of musical effects both in French and in poetry at large, which hitherto were only half realized. But his poetry is more than French. It is world poetry and hence its universal appeal. Of his imagination and power of visualization no mention need be made. But many of his effects were startling to the French ear. His *Cimetière D'Eylau* must have scandalized every one

of a fixed academic frame of mind. His suppression of the formal stress at the line and hemistich in favor of a varying stress decided by emphasis was contrary to the genius of the language, the dominating accent d'emphase being like his name Germanic. When one takes into account how his prose pays but formal homage to French style, the exuberant vanity of "Greffier, écris qu'on a ritri" when he was derided in the Senate, one wonders if there was not after all an alien element in this

"Enfant laid qui
Naquit de sang breton et lorrain à la fois."

With Musset it was otherwise, once he had sowed his wild oats. In spirit he belonged rather to the first Cénacle than the second. He sympathized to a certain extent with romantic reforms, but as soon as the reformers had turned into their own particular street, Musset was no longer with them. His criticism of romanticism has been given in—

Le romantisme c'est le vent qui vagit, c'est la nuit qui frissonne, c'est le jet inespéré, l'extase alanguie . . . en même temps le plein et le rond, le diamétral, le pyramidal, l'oriental. . .

which means, as does the whole of the *Lettres de Dupuis et Cotonnet*, that he had that saving sense of humour which would keep him from mental extravagance, whatever he did with his life as a whole. Where his contemporaries made lyrism an excess, Musset made it natural, and although not the zealous craftsman that Hugo and Gautier were, in the form and spirit of his verse he kept much more to the high road of French tradition, that is to say to the classic tradition. By the classic tradition I do not mean the 'accidents' of the poets of the *grand siècle*, but the essential thing to which they clung. What classicism meant to the French spirit must be sought in the development of that spirit. It was a small thing that the barbaric Franks gave France its name and nationality. Beneath the Frankish veneer infinitely thicker and more permanent was the layer of Gallo-Roman culture, and on this soil was worked out the attempt at making the new civilization Latin and Christian at once. Feudalism, the lay conception of that ideal, and chivalry, its conception on the more spiritual side,

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both eventually broke down, but there remained a certain refinement, often lost in the jarring world of courts with their schemers and *spadassins*, but preserved in the mean of genteel society to revive in the salon of a Marquise de Rambouillet. This mode, although it was criticized on its extreme side, was adopted by that settled and stately monarchy which was anxious to arrange all activities material and mental as buttresses to its own organism, and as order was indeed the order of the day, Descartes having ordered thought before Richelieu, Mazarin and Louis XIV had ordered the state, so in literature there was set up an ordered system with established canons of taste and style.

There are various reasons why the classicism thus enthroned should be Augustan rather than Greek. The affinity between the Empire and the time of *le grand monarque* is obvious enough, and the connection of language is a further link. 'We have Abraham to our father,' French classicists might well say. But there is also the general condition of education and the mental outlook of the two law-givers to be taken into account. Latin after all was infinitely more familiar than Greek. It was the second nature and the second language of all the teachers of the day, and it was natural enough to accept the canons laid down by a poet, Horace, who himself practised them, rather than to seek to apply the principles of a philosopher, Aristotle, or to construct new principles from a critical study of Greek and Roman poets. If Racine, an accomplished Hellenist, had been responsible for a French *Poetica*, things might have been different, but Malherbe and Boileau both represented a practical middle view. What they sought was something definite to go upon rather than the last word in scholarship, and average educated opinion, which was nearer the standpoint of a Pope than a Bentley, supported them. But in addition to this there were certain physical reasons why French was more bound down to the set virtues of later classicism than disposed to follow Greek models where rules were rather the servant than the master. These reasons, questions of language, of style, of tone, are indeed the old latent instincts again making themselves felt. With regard to language it may be said that in French words

approach more closely than in most tongues to the state of an algebraical formula. They denote rather than connote.¹ And as French is comparatively weak in pregnant force so it is wanting in such uses as the *made* adjective so typical of Greek or German. French is not capable of so simple an imitation even as 'many fountained Ida,' and one can see how much is lost in the transition from $\pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\theta\rho'\mu\mu\omega\nu$ to *agréable aux colombes*. Figurative language and imagery again are sparingly used because the logical French mind is not prepared for the sudden introduction of a disconcerting simile. A Frenchman would never 'find the toppling crags of duty fast upon the shining tablelands' of any region celestial or otherwise. In French, speech is considered first and foremost to be an exercise of the reason: even when it is a matter of the emotions, those emotions are expressed in terms of the reason, whether it be Racine's Phèdre justifying herself, or Mme. Caillaux giving a logical defence for her action in shooting an editor. The peculiar tone of French diction is in fact meant to bring out the logical force of the statement or proposition, the main feature being level stress, with the final accent of word or phrase serving as a kind of oral punctuation to set in relief the divisions in the general sense. When there is an emotional emphasis it should normally pervade the whole phrase, which with us is only a stage-trick of actors.

When one considers the cumulative effect of all this it becomes inevitable that French poetry should incline to the models of later classicism, and that while it reproduces some of the formal and austere beauty of the Greek, it has quite different ideals to English or German poetry. The latter may be compared to the Gothic cathedral with its riches of columns, arches, spires and gables, while the former is like a Greek temple, which by the simple arrangement of a few straight columns crowned by a pediment and relieved simply by the shade within yet succeeds in producing an exquisite symmetry and grace. It is a like combination of a few simple elements which in the hands of a master gives such effects as this—

¹Even *nuance*, which is a vaunted French attribute, is so because it is a superficial new thing, whereas in English *nuance* goes right down into the meaning of the term.

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Lui gagnant à pas lents une roche élevée
De son aile pendante abritant sa couvée,
Pêcheur mélancholique, il regarde les cieux,
Le sang coule à longs flots de sa poitrine ouverte;
En vain il a des mers fouillé la profondeur:
L'Océan était vide et la plage deserte;
Pour toute nourriture il apporte son cœur,
Sombre et silencieux, étendu sur la pierre,
Partageant à ses fils ses entrailles de père,
Dans son amour sublime il berce sa douleur,
Et, regardant couler sa sanglante mamelle,
Sur son festin de mort il s'affaisse et chancelle,
Ivre de volupté, de tendresse et d'horreur.

[Musset, *La Nuit de Mai.*]

The passage just quoted, though taken from Musset's greatest lyric, reveals how much he maintained the tradition of the past, not so much innovating as simply developing faculties already present, faithful to the old principles, but adapting them to the personal note which hitherto had been banned as the *moi détestable*. The romantic license he avoided: in the whole of *La nuit de mai* there is no definite *enjambement* and only one breach of the cesura. He used the Alexandrine in the classic manner, for description, declamation, the epistolary style or for satire. The following, for example, has the genuine ring of XVII century verse, but for the interlacing of the rimes—

Notre littérature a cent mille raisons
Pour parler de noyés de morts et de guenilles,
Elle-même est un mort que nous galvanisons,
Elle entend son affaire en nous peignant des filles,
En tirant des égouts les muses de Regnier,
Elle même en est une et la plus délabrée. . . .

Interlacing of rimes and the use of stanzas are the means he adopts to relieve the Alexandrine *ron-ron*, while for lighter or more poignant effect he uses the eight-syllabled verse.

Quand j'ai traversé la vallée
Un oiseau chantait sur son nid,
Ses petits, sa chère couvée
Venaient de mourir dans la nuit,
Cependant il chantait l'aurore. . . .

[*La nuit d'âout*].

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Beyond his own literature his interests were wide, as was natural for the sound scholar and sound critic that he was. Byron and Shakespeare, Italy and Greece, the Renaissance and the Middle Ages each in their different fashion influenced him. Byron (of whom he speaks almost reverentially)

Lui le grand inspiré de la mélancholie
Qui las d'être envié, se changeait en martyr;
Lui qui rassasié de la grandeur humain—

was his master in that he combined lyric force with power of satire. The devotion is to be explained in part by the fact that Byron would be fully intelligible to the French poet. His supple cursive style he owed doubtless to his study of Pope, and Pope had developed that style under the influence of French models. The epistle to Lamartine—a real epistle, although great poetry and fine verse—recalls very clearly the easy elegant, half colloquial style of Byron in *Childe Harold* or *Don Juan*.

Shakespeare he loved, not only for the 'gorgeous towers and cloud-capped palaces' of his thought, not only for the passion and action of the Renaissance, but above all for the bright-hued life mirrored in his pages; where Hugo saw only antithesis and the effect of contrast in the grim comedy of the murderers in *Macbeth* or in the garrulity of the nurse fussing about *Juliet*, Musset saw the rounding off and completion of the picture. Indeed it was not so much *Romeo and Juliet* that interested him since he says—

Mes yeux ont contemplé des objets plus fenèbres
Que Juliette morte au fond de son tombeau
Plus affreux que le toast à l'ange des ténèbres,
Porté par Roméo

because he had looked in the eyes of his *amante* and found love had died there. What interested him in Shakespeare was all the undeveloped possibilities, all the figures in the background and middle distance, 'Mercutio' and 'Tybalt king of cats,' and a host of others who gave to Shakespeare that naturalness and freeness, which subsequent literature had effaced. His own comedies, different as they are to Shakespeare's comedies, could hardly have been written if Rosalind and Por-

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tia, Beatrice and Benedict had not lived and moved and had their being.

And that reveals his secret. All that has to do with the time, when life is quick and the blood is warm, is his province. That is why he is the poet of *la jeunesse*, making his appeal not only to youth which, as it makes its own poetry, does not buy it, but to all that class which Tennyson, surely with a touch of irony, characterizes in

‘Full many a father have I seen
A sober man among his boys . . .’

It is for a like reason that he enters so profoundly into the pagan Greek spirit—

“Grèce ô mère des arts, terre d’idolatrie
De mes vœux insensés éternelle patrie,
J’étais né pour ces temps . . .”

he says, because a mind like his with all its sense of enjoyment, ‘dont le désir l’a fait vivre, et dont le manque l’a fait mourir,’ feels a longing for a world where conscience is not yet awake, and all that is required is that sweet reasonableness which the self-willed promise to the utmost, if only they may have their own way. Such a conception is of course that of the *collégien*, and it was as a brilliant *collégien* with the imagination of a poet that Musset knew Greece. How keen that imagination was we may judge from *La nuit de mai*, in which the muse ‘on pinions wafted’ descends on the poet on whom the realization gradually breaks—

Le poète—

Comme il fait noir dans la vallée,
J’ai cru qu’une forme voilée
Flottait là-bas sur la forêt,
Elle sortait de la prairie.
Son pied rasait l’herbe fleurie,
C’est une étrange rêverie
Elle s’efface et disparaît.

La muse—

Poète, prends ton luth; la nuit sur la pelouse
Balance le zéphyr dans son voile odorant,
La rose vierge encor se referme jalouse
Sur le frelon nacré qu’elle énivre en mourant . . .

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In all this marvellous poem by virtue simply of its directness is maintained the illusion natural enough for the Greeks, for whom the body is but an attribute of the person, but which even Keats can only treat as some legend distant and long ago.

Dominated as he was by the glamour of the land,

Où tout était divin, jusqu'aux douleurs humaines
Où quatre mille dieux n'avaient pas un athée . . .

one can imagine how Musset will envisage Christianity with its demands alternately benignant and austere. One may pass by the early pose of satanism and a flagrant atheism. They were not part of him. As all great artists, he feels the appeal of the human pathos of *Christ le camarade*, that feeling that reveals itself alike in Leonardo's Head of Christ or Michael Angelo's Descent from the Cross, but submit to the larger claim he will not, he cannot,¹ and so having again crucified Christ he proclaims him dead.

Les clous de Golgotha te soutiennent à peine,
Sous ton divin tombeau le sol s'est derobé:
Ta gloire est morte ô Christ! et sur nos croix d'ébène
Ton cadavre celeste en poussière est tombé!
Eh bien! qu'il soit permis d'en baisser la poussière
Au moins credule enfant de ce siècle sans foi,
Et de pleurer ô Christ! sur cette froide terre,
Qui vivait de ta vie et qui mourra sans toi!

[*Prologue to Rolla.*]

One can imagine the relish with which young Mussetistes would quote this, but all this Prologue to Rolla is apt to fall flat on the ears of a later generation, when atheism is rather

¹Here is the verdict of George Sand, his lover, on him:—

“Tu te sentais jeune, tu croyons que la vie et le plaisir ne doivent faire qu'un. Tu te fatiguais à jouir de tout, vile et sans réflexion. Tu méconnaissais ta grandeur et tu laissais aller ta vie au gré de passions qui devaient l'user et l'éteindre, comme les autres hommes ont le droit de la faire. Tu t'arrogais droit sur toi-même, et tu oubliais que tu es de ceux qui ne s'appartiennent pas. Tu voulais vivre pour toi-même, et suicider ta gloire par mépris de toutes les choses humaines. Tu jetas pèle-mêle dans l'abîme toutes les pierres précieuses de la couronne que Dieu t'avait mise au front, la force, la beauté, légèreté, et jusqu'à l'innocence de ton âge, que tu voulus fouler aux pieds, enfant superbe!”

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pratiquant than assertive, while it anticipates something of the decay brought on by the dissipation in which he sought to drown bitter memories and disappointments that made the last sixteen years of his life a silence, himself a vague figure over whom his friends shook their heads. It may well be that those silent years were intended, that they were as the pause of emphasis which sometimes comes before the last note of a piece of music. If so, it is worth seeing what were those last significant words. They sum up Musset's poetic—

Je me dis seulement 'A cette heure, en ce lieu,
Un jour, je fus aimé, j'aimais, elle était belle.'
J'enfouis ce trésor dans mon âme immortelle,
Et je l'emporte à Dieu!

Taking that as Musset's testament and considering the Lettre à Lamartine as a confession and atonement of much of the wilful egotism of the poet we may well leave him when he is occupied not with his woes and disappointment but in that generous and touching tribute to a gifted young artiste:

O Maria-Félicia le peintre et le poète
Laissent, en expirant, d'immortels héretiers;
Jamais l'affreuse nuit ne les prend tout entiers.
A défaut d'action leur grande, âme inquiète
De la mort et du temps entreprend la conquête,
Et frappés dans la lutte il tombent en guerriers. . . .

Recevant d'âge en âge une nouvelle vie,
Ainsi s'en vont à Dieu les gloires d'autrefois;
Ainsi le vaste écho de la voix du génie
Devient du genre humain l'universelle voix—
Et de toi, morte hier, de toi, pauvre Marie,
Au fond d'une chapelle il nous reste une croix!

Une croix! et l'oubli, la nuit et le silence!
Ecoutez! c'est le vent c'est l'océan immense;
C'est un pêcheur qui chante au bord du grand chemin
Et de tant de beauté, de gloire et d'espérance,
De tant d'accords si doux d'un instrument divin
Pas un faible soupir, pas un echo lointain. . . .

[Extr. *Stances à la Malibran.*]

W. M. CONACHER.

CURRENT EVENTS.

Financing the War.

The Minister of Finance, and the country, are to be congratulated on the passing of a well-devised income tax law. Such a measure has for years been a crying need. Our system of federal finance has been antiquated, burdensome to industry, unfair to the poor. It is not necessary to repeat the arguments in favor of an income tax or to analyse the fallacies which were offered in excuse of the failure to take this necessary first step toward putting our finances in order. Both tasks have been attempted on several occasions in these columns, and it is now clear that there never were any reasons for this failure other than inertia, protectionist sentiment and the undue influence of rich men in Canadian politics. Necessity has brought about now what justice might have called for in vain for some years longer.

The measure in itself is a very good one. Sir Thomas White has done well to follow United States precedents closely rather than to attempt to adopt to our very different conditions the five distinct taxes which in the United Kingdom are lumped together under the name of an income tax. It would have been better had the exemption been lowered to include men of moderate incomes, even if only a low rate were levied, not merely to secure further revenue, but to bring home to wider circles the feeling of responsibility for the country's expenditure which is one of the chief virtues of such a direct tax. More differentiation in the higher levels between single and married men has also been advocated with much force. Many difficult administrative details remain to be worked out, and probably some of the definitions of income will need revision. A system of information at the source should be established. On the whole, and considered as a basis for our permanent financial system, the measure is an excellent beginning.

The income tax law, however, was not offered merely, in fact not at all explicitly, as a permanent feature of Canadian public finance. It was brought forward as an emergency war measure, apparently to take the place after this year of the

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tax on business profits. As the sole direct tax, it would have proved woefully inadequate under present conditions.

The business profits tax introduced by the Minister of Finance in his 1916 budget, particularly as amended in the spring of 1917, was a courageous and expedient measure. It provided large revenue with relatively little disturbance to industry and at small cost of collection. It met in some degree the demand that profits made out of the country's emergency should go back into the country's service. It was, of course, not without its drawbacks. Since the basis of the levy was the excess of profits over an arbitrary minimum, seven per cent. on the capital, instead of the excess over the pre-war average, as in the English law, it followed that companies which had been farsighted enough to water their stock liberally before the war fared better than their careless neighbors. The retroactive feature worked hardship when earnings had been put into betterments of plant or purchases of raw material. The more general criticism that the tax would discourage capital from coming to Canada had little weight. It is desirable to make Canada a land attractive to investors, but it is more important to make it a land attractive to immigrants and to its own people by making wealth bear something like its fair share of the burden of the heavy taxation we must face. Due allowance should of course be made for depreciation and for building up a reasonable reserve; such allowance, apparently, has been made. Any capitalists who want more in times like these than the 15½ per cent. net the present business tax leaves to companies making 20 per cent., or than the 35½ per cent. left to those making 100 per cent., the country can well do without: though where else they will go to better themselves in this debt-ridden world is past finding out.

Yet there was serious danger that this tax would be withdrawn. It was fiercely criticized in many financial circles, lukewarmly supported by the Finance Minister's own party, and sniped at by the corporation wing of the Liberal party. As a result of these influences the Minister of Finance apparently decided to substitute the income tax for the business profits tax, which, he stated explicitly in introducing the income tax measure, would not be renewed when it expired in

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December of this year. This would have meant that huge war time profits would have escaped in many cases with one-fifth or one-tenth the tax levied under the excess profits tax, which is graduated very much more steeply at the high levels than the income tax. For normal times, the rates of the income tax are reasonable; for abnormal conditions they would be absurdly inadequate. Fortunately this policy was not persevered in. The straight incisive criticism of the member for Kingston and the campaign of the *Toronto Star* are chiefly to thank for the Minister of Finance's reconsideration, and his promise that if at the expiration of the present profits tax, abnormal profits were still being received they would again be tapped by abnormal taxes.

When the tax is revised, it will be well to consider the question of basis again. In its present form it is not wholly a war profits tax. Companies whose earnings before the war and during the war alike have borne a high ratio to capital because of the special ability or energy of their managers, the fact that trade marks or patents or other goodwill not represented in the capitalization formed a large part of their assets, the possession of monopoly advantage or neglect to water the stock, have been taxed on the same basis as companies whose war profits show an increase due almost wholly to war conditions. It is true that in the case of new companies the pre-war profits basis does not exist, and that in the case of a very few old ones even a pre-war average of three years' profits might not be wholly fair. Yet it would seem possible, now that the income tax can be relied on to secure a share of normal profits, to make the excess profits tax mainly a tax on the excess due to war conditions, using the fixed seven per cent. basis for new companies. Once this change is made, a Minister of Finance can run up his taxes to eighty or ninety per cent. without qualms. It would be better if excess profits in this sense could be prevented, since they represent a toll levied on the mass of consumers by grace of war-time opportunities. If, however, corporations cannot be prevented from soaking up huge profits, the Minister of Finance can at least squeeze the sponge, as kings of mediaeval Europe did when Jewish money-lenders had gathered in their subjects' shekels.

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The next important phase of our war financing will be the issue of the fourth Canadian loan in November. Considering our previous financial history, without a single large domestic loan on our record (the largest being an issue of \$9,500,000 over forty years ago), and with 99 per cent. of our public debt at the outbreak of war payable in London, the success attained in the three loans which have preceded is remarkable. Considering the greatness of our need and the success of other countries, there is much room for improvement. The first Canadian loan had 24,000 subscribers, the second 35,000, and the third 40,000. The third British loan had 5,000,000 subscribers, the fourth German 5,000,000, and the first United States loan 4,000,000. Plainly we have not yet risen to the occasion. The methods employed in the United States have evidently wakened up our financial leaders, and a similar campaign will shortly be under way which should bring better results. A special effort will doubtless be made to reach the farmers, who have hitherto played little part in public financing.

The speeding up in our tax and loan programme comes none too soon. The desire of the British Government to buy only in countries which will lend it the money for the purchases throws a heavy task upon the government and the bankers of Canada. The decision is a natural one, in view of the conditions as to exchange and the tremendous burden the British investor and taxpayer are bearing in financing the home purchases of their government. At the same time, it works to the disadvantage of Canada as compared with the United States. Our exports in normal times and still more during the war, bear a much larger proportion to our whole production and to our financial strength than is the case in the republic, and the task of financing all our overseas exports is correspondingly heavier. In part it will be met; but to some extent the outcome may be a diversion of our products to the south..

In making this demand, the British authorities are recognizing the extent to which the roles of Britain and Canada have been reversed during the war. From a debtor we are becoming a creditor nation. At the beginning of the war

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Canada borrowed from the British treasury part of the funds required for our military expenditure in Canada itself. As the public finances improved, this borrowing ceased, and the advances made were repaid by bonds on which the British government borrowed in New York. Canada is, further, bearing the whole cost of her expenditure overseas, in part directly, in part by agreement to pay the British government a fixed sum per man per day to cover cost of stores and munitions supplied in the field. The obligation incurred on this latter score has been very much more than offset by the loans made the British government by the Canadian government to pay for the munitions (\$25,000,000 to \$35,000,000 a month) and other supplies bought here, so that to-day there is a considerable balance on the credit side of our ledger.

That we have succeeded in paddling our own financial canoe to this extent is a matter for congratulation. The methods by which we have secured the funds for this purpose are not so wholly satisfactory. To much too great an extent we have relied upon borrowing rather than upon taxation. In the spring of this year our net debt, including overseas adjustments, had increased since the beginning of the war by practically our whole war expenditure. It is true that large capital expenditures had been incurred, and that part of these might fairly be charged to the debt increase, leaving a corresponding part of war outlay to be considered as met out of income. Yet it is equally true that for some years past our current revenues have covered both ordinary and capital outlay; in 1914 our net debt was smaller than in 1910 in spite of high capital outlays meanwhile. Fortunately, the increase in revenue due to increased imports and higher duties and to the business profits tax has of late months covered not only ordinary and capital expenditure but a substantial share of our war outlay.

So far as we did have recourse to taxation, we have relied too much on the tariff instead of upon direct taxes. This has not merely thrown an undue burden upon the poorer classes, but it has raised the price of nearly everything either government or private individuals had to buy. The introduction of the profits tax and income tax is improving matters in this regard.

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For the future, in addition to relying upon our own resources, financing the war by taxation as far as may be, and by taxes which will fall on realized income, not on production costs, one essential aim will be to avoid inflation. In paying for the goods and services required for carrying on the war, the government must either use existing purchasing power, existing money, obtaining it from its present owners by gift, tax or loan from savings, or it must create additional purchasing power by the issue of paper money or the manufacture of credit on the books of the banks. If it takes from the people, by tax or loan, a large share of their existing purchasing power, it simply diverts a corresponding share of their demand from luxuries or comforts to war uses. If it allows the people to retain their existing purchasing power, then, to secure priority for war orders it must outbid these demands by offering higher prices, paid by the issue of newly created money. Prices rise, people are forced to economize, and in the long run the government secures for its purposes the needed share of the productive power of the community, but it does so at the cost and burden of the ordinary consumer. Thus far there has been comparatively little inflation in Canada. At the outbreak of war the government issued a large amount of paper money, but this device has not since been utilized. There is, however, a danger that if taxes and loans from real savings do not suffice to meet the government's needs, resort will be had to book credits which work in much the same way.

Parties and Coalition.

The desirability of sinking the differences that divide parties in normal times, in order that Canada might present a united front, and be enabled to carry on the war with the utmost effectiveness, has been felt by most of us for many months. Why has it not been attained?

The party system, and party loyalty, are not, of course, the wholly evil thing some rash critics aver. The political party is an essential factor in the working of democratic government, the only means yet devised of securing a stable and responsible majority, and organized and responsible criticism.

In some measure, it is a real nationalizing influence. Though it lends itself to demagogic setting of one race or section against another, yet in its absence such dividing lines would be drawn still more closely, and, as it is, party members belonging to different classes or sections are compelled to give some heed to the wishes and interests of their fellow-members. It is a very doubtful improvement when a newspaper casts off the shackles of party and becomes the mouthpiece of the changing whims of a millionaire owner or of sectional prejudices. Of course, editorial independence, which has been exhibited in encouraging degree in Canada of late, is better than any of the alternatives mentioned, but of the second choices party loyalty is by no means the worst. It is well to remember, again, that when many people urge you to rise above your partisan prejudices, what they really mean is that you should give up your partisan prejudices and adopt theirs. With all such allowances made, the fact remains that in the past three years Canada has faced a crisis and an issue far transcending the questions that earlier divided us, and so far as the party system, or, rather, the influence of the existing parties, has prevented united action, it has been most harmful to the common cause.

The fundamental difficulty has been that party antagonism is hard to live down. Passions are stirred in the conflict of years, vested interests created, loyalties called out, which make it difficult to embrace the opposing faction at a moment's call. It is hard to sink the lesser loyalty in the greater. Problems of group ethics arise which may most easily be realized by noting the parallel between party fealty and national patriotism, as many interpret them. The patriot who cries, 'my country, right or wrong,' who heeds only one side of an international controversy, who believes that the people of all other lands are immensely inferior, is closely akin to the partisan who cries 'my party, right or wrong,' who reads only his own hidebound press and believes that all the good citizens are on his side and all the rascals on the other. In the present situation, the government party, which would have had to take the initiative in any proposal for coalition, held power, at the outbreak of the war, by a large majority (not, as in Australia and

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New Zealand, by a narrow and precarious margin), and its members saw no reason to share that power so soon after attaining it with a party which had just enjoyed fifteen years of office. The Opposition, on the other hand, seeing that the government was steadily losing its grip, felt they could well wait for the whole loaf.

A further reason why party opposition continued was that parliament was not feeling the direct responsibility for the conduct of the war. Not only was the war being waged thousands of miles beyond our borders, but it was being controlled by governments in which we had little or no voice. As the *Manitoba Free Press* declared a year ago, Canada's part in the war was that of a colony, not a nation. We were waging war at second hand. In all the broader questions of policy the decision lay with the British, not the Canadian authorities. The sturdy Canadianism of Sir Sam Hughes did not always find backing. True, our Prime Minister attended War Councils and Cabinets in London, but that gave parliament no light or voice. If the new developments in imperial relations mean that the mere attendance of a Dominion premier at a London council, without any discussion in our own parliament before or after, is to constitute our share in the control of foreign policy, they are a step backward, not forward. Whatever consultations are held in London, Canada's action must be determined in Canada and by Canada's parliament. In some respects conditions have since improved, but on the whole there have been lacking the distinct national note and the feeling of responsibility that follows in its wake.

So far as Canada's action was self-determined, it was the cabinet on the one hand, the people on the other, who acted, not parliament. A large measure of executive control is inevitable in war time, but as the record of French experience shows, as contrasted with British, and, much more, German experience, much is gained if parliament through committees keeps closely in touch and closely on the watch. In the matter of our recruiting and patriotic relief organization, again, private individuals took the initiative and carried through the work in most cases, doubtless to the general good, but again to the weakening of parliament. With its duties and its re-

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sponsibilities thus cut away on both sides, parliament fell back on partisan quarrelling, the party in power eager to grasp whatever capital could be made out of waging a successful war—not a very serious task, it was thought at first—and the Opposition straining to prove the government guilty of blundering or corruption.

At last a measure of coalition has been brought about. Unfortunately only a measure. Many of the advantages hoped for from coalition cannot now be secured. The chief gain will be the increase in administrative efficiency certain to result from the injection of fresh blood into the cabinet, and particularly from the inclusion of men of the force and executive capacity of Mr. Crerar and Mr. Carvell, and of the wide and progressive sympathies of Mr. Rowell. Yet coalition will not prevent an election, with all the distraction and division involved. It still leaves two parties facing each other in conflict. It will lessen friction in some quarters but intensify it in others. Under the circumstances in which the proposals for coalition were made, any other result was most improbable. It was not suggested until after a measure had been introduced which caused a radical division in the House and in the country. Sir Robert Borden stands higher in the country's esteem than ever before because of the patience and unquestioned sincerity of purpose displayed in the union negotiations the past few months. Yet the fact remains that he did not begin those negotiations until too late to secure the best results, until the issue of conscription had made division of opinion a certainty.

Conscription.

The proposal to resort to conscription for overseas service has kept the country in a turmoil for the past six months. Opinions on the necessity or expediency of the measure differ widely. On the whole, the majority of the more progressive citizens of the towns, at least in Ontario, appear to favor it, while the reverse is the case in the country. The writer of these Comments in the last issue of the *Quarterly* gave forceful expression to one view on the subject, particularly as far as Quebec was concerned. The present writer, approaching the

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subject, it may be, with different prepossessions, and of course equally expressing only his individual convictions, has come to somewhat different conclusions on the question of conscription and the allied topics.

In large measure the discussion has turned on absolutes, on general considerations having no special or exclusive relation to the Canadian situation. On the one side, conscription is welcomed as securing equality of sacrifice, in face of the fact that the accident of belonging to an exempt occupation, or of a year's greater or less age, or of a flat foot or of early marriage—if accident that can be called—makes any real approach to such equality out of the question. With more force, conscription has been urged as ensuring more effective organization of our human resources, wiser selection of those who should go and those who should stay. Certainly there are thousands of men at the front who could have done better work at home, and thousands at home who should be at the front, but it is doubtful whether, by and large, the composition of the actual overseas forces is so different from what selective tribunals would have ensured as is sometimes alleged. On the other hand, conscription is attacked as encouraging militarism in future, by removing the check which the voluntary system provides, the necessity it imposes that the leaders of the nation should have justice on their side if they are to find support. True, so far as ordinary wars go, but if, as most of us hope, this war itself, assuming that the Allies win and that they are true to the ideals they have professed, largely removes the danger of the recurrence of a world-wide war, this argument has little present weight. Again, conscription is opposed as an infringement of individual liberty. To which the advocate of conscription triumphantly rejoinders, If compulsory taxes, why not compulsory military service? While the doctrines of the absolute sovereignty of the state are being sapped by theoretical criticism and practical developments, it may be agreed that no *a priori* limit can be set to the power of the state over the citizen. The state, or the majority, has the right to compel us to pay taxes, or to serve in arms, or to join and attend a certain church. Whether, however, any or all of these courses would be expedient is another matter. This only

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can be assumed in advance, that the state has the power, but that the expediency of using the power must be proved in any specific case if the general presumption in favor of liberty, born of hard and long experience, is to be overcome.

Important as these considerations may be, the central and practical questions for Canadians have been, What are most needed, men, munitions or supplies, and, Would conscription yield sufficiently more men than the voluntary system to offset any possible danger to national unity?

The question, how many men Canada should send, is one that no one can answer with precision. Private individuals have not the full information necessary to form a judgment. Even with all the facts before us, different deductions would be drawn. The facts change with every ebb and flow of the tide of war, every shift in strategy or in munition requirements, every variation in the attitude of the enemy peoples and of our allies. To determine the exact weight to give to the military weakness occasioned by the Russian turmoil, to the diplomatic gain that has come from the downfall of Russian autocracy, to the entrance of the United States into the war, to the peace programmes of the Pope or the Socialists of Europe, would tax omniscience. Yet a rough estimate must be made if any reasoned opinion is to be formed either for or against conscription. If it is urged that only the government is in possession of the facts on which such an estimate could be based, well and good, but what sign has there been that they have utilized their opportunities, that a careful survey of the whole situation in Canada and abroad, in consultation with our Allies, was made as a preliminary to the adoption of conscription? If such a survey was made, why could not the leading points have been made public? Or, if there were factors in the situation which could not be made public, why could not a secret session of parliament have been held, and the pros and cons frankly weighed and debated?

In place of such a general survey, certain single standards have been put forward. Canada, it has been urged, has enlisted over 400,000 men; before the war, the most optimistic forecast of her forces would have been perhaps 100,000. True, but no forecast before the war realized the greatness of the

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task or the flexibility of national resources. Again, it has been urged that our forces fall short of the 500,000 men authorized by parliament. This figure, set by Sir Robert Borden and the *Toronto Star* in conjunction, has no magic weight; it was set before the expansion of the munition industry and the shortage of food supplies had gone to any length. Again, it is pointed out that casualties exceed enlistments. It is this consideration that weighs heaviest with most of us. If a slackening of reinforcements means that the men now at the front will have double burdens thrust upon them, that Canadian soldiers who have faced the foe for long weary months, struggling with cold and mud, danger and death, are to be called upon to bear a heavier load than their British or French fellows at other points along the line, there would be few who would not support the most drastic measures to secure reinforcements. It has not been shown, however, that this really is the case. In Great Britain, with conscription in force, the new enlistments are not equalling casualties any more than in Canada, and yet no one suggests that Britain is slacking or leaving her men unsupported. In fact, the greater the success of recruiting in the early stages, the more men there are on the firing line and the fewer left at home—the more impossible it is to take current casualties as the measure of fresh enrolment. The proportion of total recruits to the men kept on the firing line appears to be as great in the case of Canada as of Great Britain. At the same time, so important is this point that clear and definite comparative statements are much to be desired. Or it is urged that Canada has done less than the other Dominions. In such comparisons, South Africa and Newfoundland are conveniently omitted, and as for Australia and New Zealand, it is only fair to remember that neither has been able to develop war manufacturing industries on a scale even faintly approaching the Canadian, and that with food and transport conditions as they are, a farmer in Canada can be of very much greater service in the common cause than a farmer in Australia. As to the United States, it would have to enlist over 6,500,000 men, as against the 2,300,000 it is announced will be under arms by next June, before it equalled Canada's present record. Even

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so, the British Shipping Controller recently expressed the fear that there would not be shipping enough to transport the United States troops overseas in the coming year.

Let us, however, assume that the need of men was our greatest need this spring, and that very substantial increases were required. Would conscription give so many more than volunteering as to offset the disturbance and friction it might involve?

The volunteering system, thanks to the untiring efforts of patriotic workers throughout the country, and the deep conviction of the need and greatness of the cause, had yielded four hundred thousand men. Recruits were still coming forward, six or seven thousand a month, equivalent to well over a million a year from the United States, and this after nearly three years of war. Only a small proportion, however, offered for infantry service, where the need was greatest. No further large reservoir remained untapped, except the province of Quebec. That province was at once the hope and the stumbling block of the conscriptionist.

The contribution of Quebec to the overseas forces has not been as negligible as is often asserted, particularly when compared with the native-born enlistment and the farming enlistment from the other provinces. Yet it was decidedly smaller. The reasons for this are familiar but may be briefly reviewed.

So far as French-speaking Quebec itself was concerned, one reason lay in its isolation from old world peoples and forces. For Great Britain, which had conquered their ancestors, its people could feel little positive affection, and relations with France had long been cut by the lack of fresh immigration and by deliberate British policy. The only important link with the France of to-day, unfortunately, was provided by the clerical refugees and visitors who denounced republican and anti-clerical France in unmeasured terms. The remoteness from old world quarrels and from military ideas which marked all this continent was particularly strong in a province where an old-fashioned economic self-sufficiency, production for use rather than for sale, still lingered and was reflected in a parochialism whose barriers could not at once be broken down. The habitant's sturdy loyalty to his native land, which

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sympathetic co-operation could have soon developed into a broad and positive Canadianism, was driven by the exponents of Anglo-Saxon imperialism and centralizing imperial federation schemes back into the shell of a narrow provincialism: Quebec Nationalism is the other side of Ontario Imperialism. The sensitiveness of a minority to infringements upon its constitutional rights led, on the very eve of war, to widespread discontent against Ontario and Western school legislation, no less disturbing to national harmony because based on greatly exaggerated notions of that policy. And, as matters grew more critical, irresponsible agitators sought to obtain notoriety by rash counsel.

With this situation, courageous and sympathetic handling was necessary to make all Canada march abreast. It can hardly be said that the government rose to the occasion. It has been charged that the party in power were not unwilling to see Quebec lag behind, since they could not hope to obtain a majority in that province in any case, and could extract some political capital from its backwardness. So far as any leaders of the party were concerned, this charge is quite unsubstantiated and unfair. The causes of the failure were less subtle. The fundamental reason why the government could not grapple with the situation was that the representatives in the cabinet from Quebec were personally weak and had ridden into power by appealing to the habitant's prejudices against the plans for Canada's assumption of the duty of self-defence at sea: the eleventh hour conversion of Messrs. Blondin and Sevigny and the addition to the cabinet of an able and honored Bleu, M. Chase-Casgrain, came too late. Plain stupidity played its part, as in the appointment of a Methodist clergyman, who could not speak French, as chief recruiting officer for the Montreal district, a proceeding which played right into the hands of Nationalists who wanted to make trouble. The Opposition leaders, on their part, made some recruiting speeches, but did not exert themselves unduly, being only too ready to leave the responsibility to the government. A coalition at the outset of the war might have saved the situation, but it did not come. The initial differences thus created between Quebec and the other provinces rapidly widened. Elsewhere, the pres-

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ence at the front of sons, brothers, friends brought us a quickened sense of the greatness of the need, and a deepening interest in the conduct of the war, which grew with cumulative force. The criticisms directed against Quebec intensified the separate feeling.

It must have been clear, then, that any attempt to introduce conscription would be strongly opposed in Quebec. It would be opposed also by farming and labor interests in other provinces, but the resistance of a compact and solid section of the country would be more serious. Was there anything in the experience of our allies to warrant the hazard?

In the United Kingdom, conscription has been enforced, but it has not been applied to Ireland, and it was introduced only when Great Britain was virtually unanimous upon it. It has yielded only one-tenth as many men as the voluntary system, and has been an important element in the labor unrest now widespread. The United States has also resorted to the selective draft. In some ways this was more surprising. The factors in the case were President Wilson's unique combination of firmness and adroitness, the rushing of the measure through in the first flush of war enthusiasm, the absence of any concentrated opposition, and the fact that the first levy called for only one-half of one per cent. of the population. The action of the United States greatly simplified the administration of a similar Canadian measure. In New Zealand, conscription was adopted, but its homogeneous population and distinctly colonial attitude put it in a different category from the larger Dominions. Even so, the current number of the imperialist organ, *The Round Table*, notes that a strike of coal-miners forced the government to give an explicit promise to exempt miners, and that a real anxiety is developing lest "our ability to assist with the supply of foodstuffs may be impaired by depleting our country of men." In Australia conscription was submitted in a referendum, and in spite of the support of the majority in parliament, of nine-tenths of the newspapers and of nearly every city-dweller who admitted he was in the leading citizen class, it was substantially defeated. Even the overseas vote was close, 70,000 soldiers voting for and 55,000 against; the officers were nearly all for, the men divided. In

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the general election which followed, Mr. Hughes, the chief advocate of conscription, was returned to power, but only after giving an explicit pledge not to introduce a conscription bill in Parliament. In South Africa, conscription for overseas service has not been seriously proposed.

Even with this lack of any clear warrant from outside experience and with the certainty of opposition within the country, conscription might have been accepted had it been preceded by the formation of a coalition government, an effective organization of all our resources, an attempt to link up private citizens with government activities as has been done at Washington, and an honest and vigorous government campaign, especially in Quebec, for further volunteers. If after that, it had been agreed by the cabinet that more men was our chief necessity and that only conscription could bring them, its adoption would have met with much wider acceptance. Instead, conscription was announced suddenly, and coalition proposed only when it was seen that opposition was widespread. The resulting division and distraction (for which, of course, anti-conscriptionists must share the responsibility), has been so great as to make it doubtful whether even from the standpoint of participation in the war the new policy has increased Canada's effectiveness, while there is no doubt that the great aim of welding our country into one has been set back many years. Fortunately, the proposal to jam through an extension of parliament and enforce the bill without any appeal to the electors was dropped. The verdict of a fair majority of the people would have to be accepted by any minority; without it, the measure could not have the needed force.

In its details and the provisions for administration, the Military Service Bill is eminently reasonable, and in accordance with the best traditions of Canadian and British parliaments. An attempt is made to dislocate industry as little as possible and to call first those who have fewest ties and obligations. The local exemption tribunals have been chosen with a view to efficiency and fairness. The measure is in force now; the harm has largely been done, and it is very unlikely that it will be repealed, whatever the complexion of the next parlia-

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ment may be, though under certain conditions a campaign for voluntary recruits might supplement it.

The War Franchise Act.

Unfortunately, it cannot be said for the measure which followed in its wake, the War Franchise Act, that it was either fair or in accordance with Canadian or British traditions. Put forward as a war measure, the parliament elected on this basis will be entitled to sit not merely for the duration of the war but for the full term, and to decide important political and social questions that have no bearing on the war.

The provisions for taking away the franchise from Canadian citizens born in enemy countries or born in allied countries but speaking an enemy tongue, and later naturalized here, are a distinct breach of national faith, and are supported by no proof of enemy sympathy on the part of any substantial proportion of the men so affected. It is true that the great majority of them would have voted against the government, but this was true irrespective of war issues. The great majority of them had voted for the Liberal party in the past, partly because they were western farmers and so opposed to the protectionist policy of the present government, and partly because they had come to Canada under the Liberal regime and had been persuaded by Liberal organizers that it was to this party all their new found prosperity was due. The still more preposterous provision for giving the franchise only to women who have relatives overseas, and denying it to all others, irrespective of service or fitness, has been defended on the ground that only by this means can the soldiers overseas be given their fair measure of influence. No one really believes that conscriptionists in the overseas forces will be denied fair and free expression, and as to exerting influence here, the power to choose, in certain cases, the constituency in which the overseas votes are to be counted is a very decided advantage, to say nothing of the force of the series of admonitions sent by high overseas officers.

Leaving aside the question whether party motive was present, assuming that those responsible for the measure or who have since sanctioned it were animated by no thought of

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the party or personal advantage which would come incidentally to some, that they put it through simply to make certain the adoption of conscription,—that does not better the case. The fact that a majority—a temporary majority—is honestly convinced that its policy is better than that of its opponents is no excuse for attempting to gerrymander the whole country, to manipulate the franchise to secure their own return. That would be a precedent for proscribing all of a contrary religious faith, or all who differed on such a question as reciprocity or imperial relations. What guarantee is there against a similar high-handed proceeding when other issues arise on which the majority of the moment feel strongly? To find a sanction for the principle that the end justifies the means we must go to Germany; to find a precedent for the attempt to prevent a fair expression of opinion at the polls we must again go to our enemies. In no British parliament for a hundred years has a measure like this been put forward. The old ban upon Catholic citizens, the old restrictions against the exercise of full political power in England by Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and other non-conformists, have long since been consigned to the rubbish-heap.* When, twenty years ago, Oom Paul, to prevent his party being outvoted, insisted that aliens should fulfil a seven-year residence qualification before admission to franchise, Canada joined in the war against such tyranny, and sent eight thousand men half round the world to put it down. It is by similar measures that the Magyars in Hungary and the Germans in Bohemia have endeavored to secure their power. It is by giving undue weight to men of their own way of thinking under the three-class franchise that Prussian governments have so long maintained their power. In most of these cases, the people who manipulated the franchise to secure their own grip on power, were

* Though even as late as 1801 Castlereagh could defend these restrictions with reactionary insolence: "It is idle to hope that Dissenters of any description can ever be so zealously attached subjects as those who are of the established religion; but the question is, what system, without hazarding the powers of the State itself, is best calculated, if not warmly to attach, at least to disarm the hostility of those classes in the community which cannot be got rid of and must be governed?"

honestly convinced that they were much better patriots than their opponents, and that the triumph of the opposing principles would be fatal to their country's good, quoting Scripture on occasion, but at least they made no pretensions to be fighting for democracy. It is to such precedents as these, with all the record of dissension, reaction and war following in their train, that the defenders of the present extraordinary measure must go.

O. D. SKELTON.

War and Policy.

In the old story Proteus, when held fast by Menelaus, turned into a lion and a dragon and a leopard to frighten his captor into letting go. He made a great mistake. He should have become a lamb, and then some wise bystander would have advised Menelaus to loosen his grip. Stockholm, the unctuous reply of the German Government to the Pope, Scheidemann's speeches, and a thousand other signs indicate the desperate desire of our enemy to charm some parties among the Allies into a belief that peace is, or will soon be, both safe and possible. As the strain of war is now telling heavily, it is not unnatural that peace talk should fill the air. But since a great deal of such talk is dictated rather by the desires than by the judgment of the speakers, it may be well to see what value their opinions possess. The human race has never been at a more critical stage, and bad judgment now means untold calamity, if not the break-up of our civilization. The vast progress made by science in the last century has given men *power*, but not the corresponding wisdom in its use. This is the result of the materialist attitude of a successful age, which became so inflated with man's conquest of nature that studies like ethical and political theory were ignored and thrust into the background. How far away those innocent days now seem when science was to be the saviour of mankind! We have learned that knowledge can be used in two directions, and that the most evil thing in the world is power directed by a false political theory. Some one has said that the urgent need of our century is that men should devote as

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much attention to ethical and political and economic questions as they have to the sciences. It is not enough to have the power to do what we want; we must also know what is the best path for civilization to travel. That is not a matter to be settled by a few maxims, virtuous or the reverse; it needs intense and profound study. A bad theory unleashed this war, and a defective theory on our part, however well-meaning, may prepare the ground for another war.

The political theory responsible for so much evil is generally known as militarism. Before the war any one who advocated a strong army or navy was liable to be called a militarist, and one of the most revealing passages in a celebrated book attempted to prove that Germany was not the most military nation in Europe. The method was the simple one of taking a number of irrelevant tests. Mr. Angell—the book was his *Great Illusion*—plausibly urged that Great Britain had fought more wars than Germany, or that France had a greater proportion of soldiers, or that the Russian army was larger. All of these tests, particularly when taken singly, are simply misleading. A historian would ask why his statistics of wars began with 1870,¹ thus suppressing the evidence of German policy given by the three wars of the previous decade, and whether the frontier wars of a colonial power are really comparable to the deliberate policy that has always dictated German aggression. A soldier would concern himself less with proportions and paper statistics and ask what was the total available striking force of which Germany had the disposal. These questions might be multiplied, but there is no need, for the mark of militarism is nothing so external.

The theory of militarism is that armed force is a normal and proper means of policy. The force may be used seldom, because war needs long preparation and success must appear certain, but it is the reserve weapon of diplomacy even when unexercised. If this theory is to be the guiding principle of a state—I am not concerned with the private beliefs of individuals—another condition is necessary. The state must be

¹Mr. Chamberlain's statistics in the tariff reform controversy also began with 1870—for a similar reason.

organized for war as its natural business. In such a state the first institution in the country will be its army and navy, and however the fact may be veiled, the General Staff will have the last word in policy. One need only contrast the elaborate checks which Great Britain has imposed on her forces by such devices as the Mutiny Act with the German procedure in the days before the war, to see that the balance of power rests as overwhelmingly with the General Staff in that country as it lies in the hands of the civil power with us. These two things are necessary to make a *Kriegstaat*, the theory and the appropriate organization, for the organization marks the direction of the constant will of a country.

Now the view, which has obtained such a vogue, that a distinction must be made between the German ruling caste and the German people, may easily lead to grave misapprehension. In so far as it means that a stable peace depends on the return of Germans, as a whole, to decency and sanity, it is unexceptionable. There is no other hope of preserving peace. But we must not take too lightly what history and their institutions have made of the Germans. A nation does not change its formed character in a day, even after such a fiery trial as the last three years. Our greatest danger to-day is to estimate too hopefully the symptoms of discontent and of longing for peace among our enemies. For the essence of the matter is this. The same institution which has turned Belgium and Northern France and Poland and Serbia into deserts has the last word in Germany too. The constitutional façade may be altered, but so long as the military power stands unbroken, Germany will remain a *Kriegstaat*.

It is tempting to think that the explosions in the Reichstag herald a new era. But this too needs to be judged historically. 'It is my right and my duty, as a member of the Reichstag, to express the feelings of the German nation. You, as Minister, will, I hope, take care that my feelings do no mischief abroad,' said a member once to Prince von Bülow. Political imbecility could hardly go further, but the remark shows the long road to be travelled before such men can either gain or retain political power. What stage in the progress to power does the recent crisis represent? We may brush aside the more opti-

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mistic interpretations; they merely show what the interpreters want. An opinion more worthy of attention is that of Herr Rosemeier, the reputed author of *J'Accuse*. He distinguishes two questions. The Reichstag resolution on peace, he thinks, does express a deep longing for peace, but it carries Germany little or no distance to democracy, and he regretfully concludes that the only hope for Germany is the complete and crushing defeat of her armies. It is easy to see why. He knows the fact that our optimists refuse to face, that the internal question in Germany is primarily one of power. Destroy the prestige and the power of the General Staff, and the door is open for a new régime. That is what makes the commonplace about the impossibility of imposing reform of Germany from without so misleading. True, no dictated constitution can last. But a military defeat alters the internal balance; it frees the Germans to consider how they must order their house in future. Indeed it compels the most docile minds to think, for the justification of militarism is success.

Anyone who has carefully followed the fluctuations of German policy during the war must have observed that policy depended on military success. While the armies advanced, no claim was too extravagant; when the armies were held, demands became more modest. The ambiguous vote declaring for no annexations and no indemnities followed on the failure of the submarine campaign to force England into submission and the miscarriage of a separate peace with Russia. But though the vote expressed war-weariness, it was not intended to be taken literally. It expressed a 'feeling,' that was all. A Centrist member could go straight to his constituents in Wurtemburg and tell them that of course the vote did not necessarily exclude annexations and indemnities!

If we wish to gauge how far Germany now is from democratization, the comedy of the reply to the Pope may serve as an example. It will also reveal how little the preceding explosion in the Reichstag really meant. A special commission was appointed to help in the drafting of a reply; it consisted of seven representatives of the Federal Governments and seven members of the Reichstag. The commission had no authority; it was purely consultative. As the *Tageblatt* remarked in dis-

gust: 'They can talk, but speak they may not.' However, Herr Scheidemann, with his eye on President Wilson, could proclaim that Germany was now democratized and all was ready for peace negotiations. Such is a German Socialist's idea of democracy. No one knows what happened at those meetings, but the Press began to create the appropriate atmosphere. It was understood that the reply would conform strictly to the Reichstag resolution. A democratic peace was to follow the majority vote. To add a touch of verisimilitude to these inspired rumours, the military authorities suppressed an issue or two of a few Pan-German papers. What was this democratic peace that the majority desired? 'No annexations' simply meant 'we will annex what we can and give up what we cannot hold; above all, our adversaries must annex nothing.' This is not a private interpretation without evidence. Herr Erzberger, the hero of the Reichstag debate, stated at Biberach that the formula did not exclude the annexation of Lithuania.¹ A Radical deputy, Herr Weinhause, declared in a public speech that 'the peace of conciliation, as the Reichstag majority conceived it, does not at all imply the restitution of Courland.' 'They are a poor lot,' said Gustave Stresemann, 'who believe that we shall ever restore the German provinces of the Baltic.'² The difference between the mass of the majority and the Pan-Germans is simply one of appetite. The latter are playing for bigger stakes, that is all. The majority realize that Germany cannot hope to win on the west; so they would surrender the territory they cannot keep and compensate themselves on the east. That they had a fairly good understanding with the Government seems to be probable from the rumour, officially circulated at the same time, that England had secretly offered peace at Russia's expense. The whole

¹It must be remembered that in the judgment of Professor Harnack, who saw the Chancellor frequently at the time of the Reichstag crisis, Erzberger had an understanding with the Chancellor. The object of the majority resolution was to strengthen Bethmann-Hollweg against the Pan-Germans. Harnack's letter analysing the situation was published without his consent in a Leipzig paper.

²I am here indebted to the *Journal de Genève*. Stresemann, as a National Liberal, of course voted with the minority.

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manceuvre, then, aimed at meeting the Pope half-way over Belgium while reserving to Germany her conquests in the east. As for Belgium, we know now from Mr. Gerard what the Germans mean when they say that they will not annex it.

So much for the democratic attempt to reply. The military party allowed the committee to play for a while and to create a certain atmosphere. Then Hindenburg sent a telegram. The note was thereupon purged of all specific statements. It contained not a word of Belgium. There was, however, an allusion to the fact that the reply was framed 'in intimate contact with the representatives of the German people.' Such is the background of hypocrisy and intrigue to that unctuous document. But of the two sets of hypocrites, I am not sure that Hindenburg and his party are not less repellent than Erzberger, Scheidemann, and the rest.

The moral is plain. At present the power lies with the army. So far as there is a revolt against the Government, it derives its force from war-weariness, from a sense that German rulers have blundered terribly, from a desire, however impotent at present, for more power. But the majority are not in principle pledged to democracy as we understand it, and they want less than the Pan-Germans because they have a little more sense, not because they have learned their lesson. They desired to use Belgium, unlawfully in their power, as a lever to press for territory in the east, while the General Staff hoped to gain on both sides if only they can hold out.

If this reading of the case is roughly true, with what justification do certain people talk of a negotiated peace? They hold, rightly enough, that a burning sense of wrong is the source of fresh wars, and they imagine, I suppose, that a peace after German defeat will impose severe terms. They therefore desire to win over, if possible, the German people to reason by holding out hopes of security in the future. If I may take the *New Republic* as an example of this view, there is no desire for immediate peace. But I venture to think that they gravely underestimate the length of the road still to be travelled by the German mind. An idealism that has little contact with facts is one of the greatest of our dangers, and now, as before the war, it minimizes the German threat. I

shall take the policy advocated by the *New Republic* as an example of this idealism coupled with inexperience, to put it mildly, of the European situation. And it is possible to be frank, as that journal is not hampered by undue modesty. It bears itself as the hierophant of a new order, a little impatient of the old or the actual. Recently it allowed itself to say that Professor Gilbert Murray had 'hardening arteries' and animadverted on his 'infancy in international interpretation.' Lofty pretensions, indeed, even if the last graces of humour and taste are still wanting!

The theory of a future peace rests upon undue pessimism about the military situation, and corresponding optimism about the prospects of German conversion. The first point may be dealt with summarily. It will take, the *New Republic* reckons, six million American or Russian soldiers to ensure victory for the Allies. This is a figure so fantastically unlike any estimate given by responsible critics that the writer had the curiosity to ask on what statistics it was based. The reply was that this was the editorial estimate—which was undoubtedly true! A further suggestion that the editors owed the figures to their readers, as the argument for a negotiated peace largely depended upon them, failed to elicit any statistics. One must conclude that the estimate has no military significance and that eight or ten million would serve as well. It was not a sober judgment of the military situation, but a political argument for a negotiated peace. Let us then turn to the other political arguments.

One argument used in its columns—an old friend—is that force proves nothing about the merits of an issue. We are to infer that force may be used to check force but alters in character if it is pushed on to victory. So far as this means that policy has the last word, there is nothing to be said. But this playing with abstract terms like *force*, out of a definite context, leads nowhere and helps us not at all. As an answer to that other abstraction that might is right, Mr. Angell's maxim—for it is his—has some dialectical value, if it is properly qualified. But it is meant to apply to the present situation, and there the formula becomes meaningless. The worst of a truism is that it may be repeated so often that the facts, in

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revenge, will prove it untrue! Men use force for an idea or group of ideas which they value and their staunchness or moral depends largely upon the hold which these ideas, good or bad, have upon them. The impressive lesson of three years of war has been precisely this, that an evil idea using force can stamp men out of the ground to oppose and defeat it. I pass by the accession of moral and military strength that the early atrocities of Germany gave to the Allies. But we have seen the opinion of the world harden against the Central Powers, and at last the United States enter the arena to enforce right. The defeat of Germany will be the sign once more that right can organize force sufficient to curb and break an evil will. And we must not forget that this spectacle of civilization united against them must increasingly shake the German belief in their own cause. Before this impressive rising and arming of a whole world against aggression, are not such abstract formulae about force and right a little empty?

The same mechanical treatment of politics appears in Mr. Angell's project for settling the war when peace seems possible. He would have an Allied Congress meet now, composed of a council of diplomats and a house representing all parties proportionately, to discuss openly the question of future security for Europe. What concerns us now is the assumed effect of such a debate.

"If the Allies employ that method as between themselves, they will be in a position to insist, when they come to deal with Germany at the end of the war, that she be represented in that way at the congress of the settlement. That would make German Socialists and liberals, not governmental delegates and Prussians, the predominant element of German representation at the peace settlement. And *of course* we should have enlisted German democratic support of the plan. We should, *by this fact*, have democratized Germany in her international relations. And it is those relations, *of course*, with which we are concerned."¹

It is hardly too much to say that such reasoning deals, not with things, but with labels. It supposes that we can democratize Germany from without by insisting that she be represented on a certain principle, or that we are simply concerned with this change in her mode of dealing with her neighbours. That

¹Italics mine.

is to mistake form for substance. Our future security will not rest on the character of the German representation at the conference—a pattern prescribed for them by others¹—but upon the permanent balance of forces within the nation. Mr. Angell has fallen into the very error which he would criticize in others, that of assuming that we can make Germany democratic from without. The spectacle the world will probably witness during the next year is a Germany posturing to give the impression of a democratic country in order to gain peace. We know the difference between the promises and performances of the present government. In future Scheidemann may promise, but what value has that, if the General Staff still attends to the performance? Mr. Angell's proposal simply provides the machinery for this new distribution of labour. It has already begun. Scheidemann meets President Wilson's answer to the Pope by the claim that the Reichstag *is* the voice of the German people and that it has declared for a fair peace. He knows and his political actions prove that the Reichstag is a voice and little more, but if his declarations can create any division of Allied sentiment, all the better for Germany.

The security of the world cannot be allowed to hang on any mechanical device for choosing what Germans shall meet what Allies at a peace conference. I have no doubt that, after a certain stage, the German Government would consent to such a proposal if it would induce the Allies to meet them. But that would not democratize Germany 'in her external relations,' nor can the external problem be taken alone. If we are to judge the character of a nation we must ask in whose hands the ultimate and permanent control of policy lies. The representatives that the Allies are to ask for could pledge Germany to nothing; the representatives of the real power in Germany might pledge her to anything. The one promise would be exactly as valuable as the other. In the last resort the democratization of Germany implies, not only a different pattern of representation, but a different spirit and the will and power to carry out a policy in harmony with that spirit.

¹It is enforced none the less that the Allies set the example, for the Allies are already democracies.

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If the war stops with a German army still holding its own, the German historian of the future—that is, the educator of the next generation—will be able to say that Germany has succeeded in fighting a defensive war against the world. He will be able to point out that the democracies could not last under the strain, that Russia crumbled, that the intellectuals in Allied countries found formulae about force and war which absolved them from pressing the contest to a decision, so that peace left German organization strained but intact. What I imagine he will next notice is the effect of the war on the ring of countries round Germany. During the war it was noticeable enough that Germany was able to use these countries for her own purposes. The Swedish Foreign Office was hand in glove with Berlin, and even a discreet official like the head of the Political Department at Berne was caught doing the work of Germany. But after peace Germany will be the centre of a ring of weak nations, terrorized by her past, and economically in her power. I do not for a moment suppose that the conception of Mittel-Europa will appear at the peace congress. Even to mention it would be indiscreet. But a Germany with the character of our enemy is bound to speculate on a hegemony, at first only commercial, over her smaller neighbours and a weakened and perhaps divided Russia. This is a plain road to renewed success for the 'tentacular state,' and success is the very spring of the power of her ruling classes.

But a military catastrophe, followed by a just but not vindictive peace, will deprive the German rulers of prestige, and help to achieve that shifting of power which is a necessary condition of a new Germany. That is why, I urge, the doctrine of a defensive strategy is so dangerous.

As things now are, the conditions of a change of spirit are little more than perceptible. When the mass of the Social Democrats, even, begin to interpret the war in the same light as the minority; when the *Vorwärts* ceases to write that 'happily we are carrying on the war in enemy country. The high command of our armies *has thus a liberty of resolution that our adversaries do not possess*'; when we hear, not of sporadic outbreaks, but of a general hampering of the executive; when the Reichstag possesses a will instead of expressing a feeling

—then we can begin to believe that the leaven is working. One must hope that these changes are near, but the force that still holds the Allies in check is strong enough at present to repress discontent in Germany.

Ex Occidente Lux; ex Oriente—?

It was suggested in these columns last April, shortly after the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, that we must not be too hopeful of Russian aid. At the same time some reasons, political and military, were given why Hindenburg might not take advantage of the confusion in Russia to make another offensive in the east. The German drive on Russia indeed turned out to be a peace drive. If it did not succeed, we are hardly in a position to deny that German propaganda has increased the difficulties of the Russian Government. Even late in the summer, after the too short offensive of Brusiloff had revealed how thin the Austrian line had worn, Germany was still making overtures to Russia. It may be conjectured that the picture German rulers then had in mind was a short and successful submarine campaign which would cut the communications of the western Allies. If only the Russian pressure could be removed, the western line might be made safe till the submarines had done their work. Then the 'tentacular state' might find a profitable field in the Russian chaos.

It would be folly to underestimate the very serious results of the military failure of Russia. An eminent military critic has described it as Germany's first real victory. For victory it is when the spirit of a nation at war shrinks from battle. But it is fair to remember that the Imperial Government would probably have concluded a separate peace—it is said that the treaty was ready for signature.¹ As things are, to speak of Russian 'pressure' is not a misnomer. For the mere threat of the Russian armies has compelled Hindenburg to retain sufficient troops (1,400,000) to defend his eastern line.

As the situation on the west is well known, it may not be out of place to say something of the interaction of the

¹*The New Europe*—a paper whose information can generally be trusted.

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eastern front with the western battle. Unless Germany can force the western Allies to make peace, no effort elsewhere can help her permanently. Even in 1915 she was unable to secure full profit from the Russian retreat because her last considerable offensive had to be reserved for an attempt to force France to her knees. That attempt failed at Verdun, and her strategical reserve had then to be husbanded if the Allied forces, now stronger in men and guns, were to be stayed. The Roumanian campaign was no real exception to this rule. As we now know, the Roumanian armies were betrayed by Russia,² and Mackensen led his forces against an enemy short of equipment and deprived of the promised Russian support. If the Russians had been able to join in the Allied offensive this summer, the German strategic reserve would have been unable to replace casualties some time ago. Even without their co-operation, this point is now reached, as the French official statement shows.³ Consequently the strategy of the Germans has been defensive, for the counter attacks at St. Quentin, on the Chemin des Dames, and after each British advance, in Hindenburg's retreat, have been dictated by hard necessity and

²See the statement of the Roumanian Chief of Staff.

³The calculations on which this statement is based have a small margin of error, for many lines of reasoning lead to the same conclusion. Those who have amused themselves by 'confuting' the calculators have not troubled to understand the point. It is simply that Germany requires a certain number of men to fulfil her military requirements, that these are taken from a reserve, and that the wastage now passes the power of replacement. I append some figures which are but a sample of the *data* by which the official German casualty lists can be checked. They refer to the losses of Danes resident in Northern Schleswig. Out of 25,000 Danes enrolled 4,208 at least were dead by 21st June, 1917; that is, over 16%. At the end of 1915 the class of men between 20 and 25, numbering 6,000, had lost two-fifths in killed and wounded, and those between 40 and 45, 3,900 in all, had lost *three-fifths*. The last figure is especially striking when it is remembered how late this class stands, and that two years of warfare have passed since. In certain communes the deaths ranged from 20% to 25% fifteen months ago. These figures could not safely be taken as representative of all Germany, because it is probable that the authorities, with their customary foresight, are deliberately sacrificing a troublesome class of subject. (*Journal de Genève*, Sept. 21).

have been terribly expensive. What policy was open to a power so placed? It was evident that expansion south, the primary object of the war, was checked by the British advance in Mesopotamia and by the entry of Greece into the war. Alone it might have been achieved, but the effort to seize and hold the Flanders coast, with the new enemies it brought to Germany, could not be combined with successful expansion south. It also became apparent that the effort to drive a corridor to the Persian Gulf, with all it meant in supplying Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey, had weakened Germany on the west. Her hope lay in the moral break-down of some enemy, and Russia served her purpose. When the attempts to gain a separate peace failed, it seemed as if some profit might be made there. But the state of her reserves makes any military effort a great gamble. The movement to Riga, against a superior enemy—if numbers and equipment constituted superiority, was simply the end of the movement which Hindenburg had planned in 1915. It gave him the natural line which he was then unable to secure.

But now the question arises, what gain can be made out of the Russian situation? If the Bagdad scheme has collapsed, and Belgium is doubtful, if troops are not available to do more than stave off disaster for the time in the west, there might seem to be two courses open to Germany. They are to attack the communications of the Western Allies at sea, and to make Russia the main *political* objective instead of the south or Flanders. It was seen in the last section that the manoeuvres of Government and Reichstag pointed to hopes of compensation on the Baltic. It is however impossible to anticipate how Germany will judge the chaotic Russian situation. The offensive on the west must continue to draw heavily on her military strength, and it is the vital point. Elsewhere, it might be conjectured that the General Staff would try to gamble in national psychology, for they realize that a will to endure counts most at this stage. Now suppose an advance into Russia at this season. It will mean at the best attenuated lines, and a spending of strength. On the other hand, the use of the fleet against the Baltic coast gives valuable political pledges, and sustains the illusion of success. (The news of the attack

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on Italy seems to confirm the likelihood that no great stroke is meditated against Russia). If Russia drifts into complete anarchy, Germany will gain politically and be able to withdraw some of her forces elsewhere. On the other hand, the existence of even a comparatively small mobile army of Russians¹ would be a grave threat to the attenuated German lines. Even the capture of Petrograd would work no great military harm to Russia. It might even sting Russian soldiers into fighting. On the whole it seems probable that the General Staff have decided to regard Russia as negligible, to make no great commitment on that front, and to concentrate what strength they have on a blow which they hope will have both political and military results. The last Italian offensive had reached a most dangerous point, and it may be assumed that the Germans also hope to turn political unrest in Italy to their advantage by a timely blow. The next months will show whether some other part of the long line has not been stripped dangerously bare. Let us at least remember one thing. The precedent of the Trentino offensive showed that any German effort against Italy meant the concentration of men and material at the end of long and inadequate lines of communication and a consequent inability to use them quickly in other directions.

A. S. FERGUSON.

¹By an army, I mean a body that can fight. Once indiscipline sets in, no man can trust his neighbour, and cohesion is destroyed.



PRINCIPAL BRUCE TAYLOR

Queen's Quarterly.

VOL. XXV January, February, March, 1918 No. 3

DR. ROBERT BRUCE TAYLOR.

IN the name of all who are connected with our University we offer a hearty welcome to the new Principal, Dr. Robert Bruce Taylor. The distinguished men who have held his office in the past have made it one of national importance, and it has received an added lustre and dignity from the fifteen years' tenure of Dr. Gordon, who happily remains with us. In the appointment of a successor the Board of Trustees have had a difficult task, and they have not made up their minds without long deliberation. There is every reason to believe that their final decision has been a singularly fortunate one.

By a remarkable chance our Principals, almost from the start, have been graduates of Glasgow University, and Dr. Taylor maintains this good tradition. He is not only a graduate of Glasgow University but a native of Glasgow. He received his early education at Glasgow Academy, from which he proceeded to the University, with the intention of following out a legal career. For some time he was occupied with the study of law, but his mind took another turn, and he entered the Glasgow College of the Free Church. His first charge as a minister was at Newmilns in Ayrshire, his second in Aberdeen, his third in London. By this time he had won a wide reputation as a preacher, and was selected six years ago to be minister of St. Paul's Church, Montreal. Since coming to this country he has thrown himself heart and soul into the life of Canada, and has recently identified himself with it in the most effective way by a period of service as chaplain to our forces in France.

Dr. Taylor has made his name in Canada as a preacher of striking gifts, in charge of one of our foremost churches; and

it is not so generally known that he is an eminent scholar, who would be qualified at a moment's notice to fill either of two chairs in the University, if they were not so excellently filled already. It was as an expert in Political Economy that he first won distinction, and his lectures on this subject at one time exercised a real influence in a number of Scottish cities. After entering Theology he devoted himself to Oriental studies, first in Scotland and Germany, and later in Palestine, where he made a prolonged stay. He has since found time, amidst the press of other duties, to write many articles, highly valued by specialists, on Hebrew and Oriental topics. He is known to a wider circle of readers as the editor of the volumes dealing with Old Testament literature in "Everyman's Library."

To have attained to eminence in subjects so far apart as Hebrew and Political Economy is sufficient proof of Dr. Taylor's versatility, but he has distinguished himself in yet another field, which has little to do with either of them. He is remembered to this day on the Clyde, by many who never heard of him in any other capacity, as one of the best yachtsmen who ever steered a boat to victory. His hand has not yet lost its cunning, and of late years he has made the name of Canada feared and respected at more than one American regatta. He is famous also as a marksman,—so much so that when he went overseas as chaplain he was appointed to give instruction in musketry in one of the large camps in England. It is rumoured that this course of instruction was continued, with the best results, in the neighbourhood of Ypres.

The many-sidedness of his interests will be a valuable asset to Dr. Taylor in the work on which he now enters. As a man who has himself so much of the youthful spirit he will understand the life of the students. As a scholar of unusually wide attainments he will direct the studies of the various departments with a real intelligence. It is true that he pretends to no particular knowledge of the sciences, which now take so important a place in our curriculum. But he can claim a relation to them at least by marriage, as the son-in-law of Sir John McKendrick, perhaps the most distinguished of British physiologists during the last generation.

DR. ROBERT BRUCE TAYLOR

The office of Principal of a University is in these days an exacting one, and it is impossible to tell how any man will succeed in it till he has actually stood the test. Dr. Taylor is not the man to put on his armour in a boastful and over-confident spirit, and it would be poor kindness to make sanguine prophecies on his behalf. It may fairly be said, however, that he comes to us with many qualities which ought to make him successful,—character, sagacity, enterprise, intellectual distinction. It may be said, further, that in his time he has played more parts than fall to the lot of most men, and in every one of them he has succeeded. He enters on his office in arduous times, which have borne more cruelly on our Universities than on any other institutions in our land, and he will have need of all his wisdom and courage. But in the difficulties that lie before him he may count on the willing co-operation of his colleagues and students, and on the sympathy of those well-tried friends throughout the length and breadth of our country who have always been the strength and glory of Queen's.

THE MEN OF THE AGES OF STONE.

THE genesis of this article can be of little interest to the reader. Suffice it to say that it was written, by request, to give some slight relief, for an off hour, from the strain of arduous study, to a group of very hard working young men and women at a University Summer School. No examination, at least in this department of Anthropology, being on the program, the desired end may not have been altogether missed. The writer has no expert or first-hand knowledge of this vast and interesting field, never having entered a cave, or turned over a spadeful of earth in search of 'Prehistoric Man,' or any articles of his industry or culture. Nothing more than his personal interest in the subject, and somewhat wide, if desultory, reading warrants him in touching it at all. The reader will, therefore, be indulgent to his "prentice hand," and not look for too much.

The subject is attractive enough, instructive also, and always has had its students and enthusiasts, if for many centuries little progress was recorded. But in recent years many striking discoveries have been made, until now the study of the Men of the Ages of Stone has risen to the proportions and dignity of a recognized science. Here, as in every other field of thought and research, the category of Evolution has been an exciting and productive stimulus, wonderfully helpful in relating, and systematizing, and interpreting facts which before had lain scattered about, mysterious and meaningless because out of relation, and therefore largely misunderstood. We are coming to see that every fact has its own proper place, and its own proper relation to other facts, and has served, and doubtless is still serving, a useful and indispensable part in the economies of the earth.

It is our business, without bias or prejudice, to study all facts and events, elicit from themselves their story, and the purpose of their existence. And so we cannot leave out the Men of the Ages of Stone, for they must have been and played their part. It would be unfilial and undutiful, and like a violation of the Fifth Commandment, not to cultivate a lively inter-

THE MEN OF THE AGES OF STONE

est in the life and activities of our grandfathers and grandmothers of those remote times. For although hundreds of thousands of years may have slipped by since the latest of them looked out from their cave dwellings, or hunted the mammoth, some family marks are still plain enough, both in body and soul, as we may see when some pre-historic features are restored by the archaeologist, or when we examine at leisure such articles of Stone Age culture as we may find in any well equipped museum.

The enquiry about Prehistoric Man belongs to Anthropology, the study of man, all that we can know about him, both in geologic time and in historic time. Historic time we count by centuries and millenniums, geologic time by hundreds of thousands and millions of years, and for some time now, the anthropologist has ceased to speak of man's existence on the earth as confined to a few paltry thousand years, and is not abashed to soar up into half a million or more, with a leaning to a yet farther extension of time. It is of little use asking even the expert how old a fragment of human bone, or the flints or celts found in the dark recesses of some long since forgotten cave may be, for beyond the assertion that they must be very, very old, no sharp, precise date can be assigned them. As a distinguished French anthropologist has said, "Perhaps they are not less than 6,000 years old, and not more than 250,000."

In a narrow sense of the term, history depends on written records. Farther back, as events get hazy and legend appears, and the spade must help us out with the story, we have "proto-history," or earliest history. Still farther back, when legend fails, and there is no help but the spade, we reach the Ages of Stone, and "pre-history," and the man of that dateless time, if there is a man at all, is Prehistoric Man. But on the far side of history the investigator is by no means so helpless as one might think. The fossil book has many a well filled and fascinating page. Therein are signs innumerable of human existence, of human conditions, of human ways of thought and life, of different peoples, and of different racial characteristics.

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And what are these signs? Some bones of man and some bones of animals mixed up together, some human implements mixed up with the bones, and also some traces of the geologic condition of the earth when, and where, the owners, human and bestial, of those bones lived. As the authorities say, the backbone of our present system of determining the series of prehistoric epochs is the geological theory of an ice-age, comprising a succession of periods of extreme glaciation—extreme cold—punctuated by milder intervals. In that far-off time—how many hundreds of thousands, or millions of years does not really matter—the earth went through many ups and downs, many changes in land and water, which greatly affected all kinds of life upon her surface, including man's, and compelled a shifting of their habitat, if they were to escape destruction. And the historian of the Ages of Ice and the Ages of Stone must be content to make such traces as he may discover of early man fit in with these changes in the ice movements, uncertain as they are. Here the geologist and the historian are working together, and every day more agreement is being reached both among the historians themselves and between them and the geologists. So that one day we may know with fair accuracy to what bygone age such and such animal bones, and such and such human bones and human handiwork belonged.

Speaking in the rough, Prehistoric Man, first and last, belonged to the Ages of Stone, the ages when the implements of peace and the weapons of war were all made of wood and stone. Those of wood soon perished. In many parts of the world large collections of the surviving stone implements and weapons have been made. And the anthropologist is not so ill furnished with the means of learning with tolerable fullness much about the culture and character of primitive man.

We speak of Stone Ages because there are, at least, three well marked divisions: the early, the late, and the new. Only in Europe, and the western side of the continent at that, has our problem been worked out with any degree of thoroughness. But before taking up the successive stages of life in prehistoric days, and its enormous activity, let us look for a

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moment at the great find in Java, some years ago, 1891-2, by Dubois, of the Ape-man, or the Man-ape, *Pithecanthropus erectus (alalus)*. The restoration had to be made from a few fragments, the left thighbone, the cap of the skull, and two molar teeth, scant fragments, to be sure, from which to fashion primordial man. There is still some echo of the once stirring controversy as to whether the bones were wholly human, or wholly simian, or at a stage between, and whether they belonged to one or two individuals. They rested some yards apart, and diligent search made since has not found any additional remains. At present the weight of scientific opinion is in favor of taking the creature as a link between the higher apes and man. It would stand five feet six inches high, with a brain volume equal to the smaller heads among the native Australians. The accompanying cut shows a low mental development, a simian projection of the features, but human and rather pathetic eyes. The discoverer claimed that his find belonged to the Pleioscène age of Tertiary time, while true man is not believed to have appeared until much later, in the Quaternary age. If the creature was human, or a true presage of the human, the discovery pushes the dawn of man far, far back not only in prehistoric, but in geologic time. And just here a word may be in place of another very interesting and later find, 1907, the "Man of Heidelberg," so called, who is of much higher human status than the "Man of Java," but yet of quite marked anthropoid characteristics. All that we have of him is a well preserved lower jaw with its teeth, found more than eighty feet deep in the sandpit of Mauer near Heidelberg, in company with some animal remains and stone implements that make it possible to fix his place in prehistoric time with some show of accuracy. That is to say; he is as old as the oldest of the unmistakable drift implements—drift being the term applied to that part of the earth mantle which is the product of glacial action. The jaw, by itself, is quite simian, and immensely powerful; the teeth, however, are undeniably human, and as to their primitive markings can be easily matched by those of later prehistoric date, and even by those of the lower savages of our own day. But the "Man of Java"

and the "Man of Heidelberg" stand out by themselves, though undoubted links in the human chain, and do not rank with the other men of the Ages of Stone, and mixed up with the detritus of the glacial epochs. These will be presently considered, after a word on the method of prehistoric research, illustrated by one of the first specialists in his line.

"Suppose a number of boys are in a field playing football, whose superfluous garments are lying about everywhere in heaps; and suppose you want, for some reason, to find out in what order the boys arrived on the ground. How would you set about it? Surely you would go to one of the heaps of discarded clothes, and take note of the fact that this boy's jacket lay under that boy's waistcoat. Moving on to other heaps, you might discover that in some cases a boy had thrown down his hat on one heap, his tie on another, and so on. This would help you to make out the general series of arrivals. Yes; but what if some of the heaps showed signs of having been upset? Well, you must make allowance for these disturbances in your calculation. Of course, if some one had deliberately made hay with the lot, you would be seriously nonplussed. The chances are, however, that given enough heaps of clothes, and barring intentional and systematic wrecking of them, you would be able to make out pretty well which boy preceded which, though you could hardly go on to say with any precision whether Tom preceded Dick by half a minute, or half an hour."

That is an excellent illustration of the method of prehistoric research, the method by which we find out the Age of Stone to which the ancient man belonged. Wherever the finds, pointing to human existence and activity, have been made, and carefully examined, one layer after another is sifted; and the contents noted in themselves, and in their relation to others, and the natural inferences as to age and character marked down. The geologist knows with fair accuracy the age of the earthy strata, or deposits, examined, and so the historian working in association with him is hardly at a loss to guess shrewdly the age of the animal bones, or human bones, or weapons, or other articles which may be unearthed in any of these strata. There are elements of confusion and difficulty, of course, in the



The Man of Heidelberg.
(Mascré & Ruto).



The Man of Java, *Pithecanthropus alalus*.
(McGregor).



The Neanderthal Man.
(McGregor).



The Cro-Magnon Man.
(McGregor)

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case, but with patient investigation, and comparing this with that, the historian of the Stone Ages comes to know with fair certainty how the men, and races of men, who left their bones and implements lying about, followed one another into the field. Take an actual case.

A cave in Jersey is excavated some twenty feet deep. The material is accumulated clay and rock rubbish, drift; that is, materials carried there, say, by ice and water and wind, presumably the effects of the last throes of the invading, grinding ice. At the depth stated a prehistoric hearth is uncovered. Lying there are the big stones that had propped up the fuel and the fire, and among them the cinders and the ashes. And scattered over the floor are the charred remains of food refuse. The marrow bones are split open for their rich and savory contents, and poor enough scraps to look at. But examined by the expert they unfold a wondrous tale. Of the bones some belong to the wooly rhinoceros, some to the mammoth, some to the horse, and some to the reindeer. Good hunting that must have been, and the air so chill that the huge rhinoceros and mammoth had to clothe themselves in wool. But these are not the most interesting remains found in this deep pit. Mixed up with the food refuse are found thirteen human teeth which belonged to a person between twenty and thirty years of age, and the dental expert says that their roots beat all records. The anatominist says that this indicates an immensely powerful jaw, and massive brow ridges; a human of average brain who lived when the wooly rhinoceros and elephant roamed over western Europe, and the Britsh Islands were part of the continent, and the Thames was a confluent of the Rhine which then entered the ocean somewhere near the Faroe Islands. And finally, those who sat and feasted and chatted around that long extinct fire left plenty of their knives lying about, well made flint knives, showing the wear and tear of use, and evidence of sharpening and resharpening, as some of them were worn down to quite a narrow point, just like knives we have seen and used ourselves. And the broad, legitimate inference is that here in this cave shelter was a rendezvous of hunters of one or more of the Ages of Stone and Ice, who could kill the biggest, most

formidable, beasts that roamed the earth, and carve and cook their flesh, lick their chops over juicy roast and delicate marrow, cluster round a roaring fire, exchange yarns about the adventures of the chase, or skirmishes with unfriendly tribes, have a good time, and keep the race a-going—250,000 years ago!

Now for a moment let us have a look into the past, as far as it is safe and respectable to go, and then hurry down to ages and men and events nearer hand.

I have mentioned a very early human time (*eolithic*), the very dawn of stone culture, when man (*homo sapiens*) made the first rude attempt to fashion tools and weapons from stone. Here the authorites are not of one mind. Some, like Harrison and Prestwich, hold that man preceded the first ice-age in Europe, and that quantities of his uncouth implements are to be found in the gravel deposits of Belgium, and southern England. On the other hand, Evans rejects this view, holding that these eoliths, alleged to have been left by pre-glacial man, are no more than common stones whch no human hand had ever touched, such shape and smoothness as they possess having been given by natural causes. At this date, the existence of pre-glacial man remains unsettled.

But when we come down to the Late Age of Stone (*palaeolithic*) we are on surer ground, and can have no reason to doubt that the 'Neanderthal man', or a man very much like him, did shape with much skill, and with praiseworthy and tireless patience, his share of the beautiful flints of our collections. There was plenty of muscle in his arm, and plenty of deftness in his fingers, since to chip a flint pebble, and bring it to symmetrical and standard size and figure, is not so easy as, in our ignorance of the art, we may think. And his brain was by no means inactive. He was quite an artist in his way. And the struggle for life and leadership compelled advance in spite of meagre opportunity and awful difficulties. He took pride in his work, that man of the late Age of Stone, whose dwelling was the cave of the earth, and we have inherited his spirit. But then as now, there were times of advance, and times of reaction and decline. There were men who cried out, our dens and

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methods and implements are good as need be, let well enough alone, and there were others who cried out, no, it is not well enough, it is better farther on. Indeed, the prehistoric record is not without a plain hint that there was quite a decline in the thought and art towards the end of the Late Age of Stone. The weapons are coarse and inferior as compared with those of the earlier generations of that Age. Something serious must have happened; but what? Probably not a policy of wilful or misguided stagnation. As M. Rutot says, it may have been that a severe and withering change in the climate was at the bottom of that decline in energy and art. The skies again gloomed darkly; the snow fell in avalanches; down again came the remorseless ice from the caverns of the north, and pushed its way over hill and valley, and man and beast were hard pressed to live at all. The retreat and the suffering and the casualties must have been widespread. Generations after, a thousand perhaps, when the weather changed, and the ice began to melt, there were torrential rains and awful floods which must have drowned whole tribes, the subtle of brain, the neat of finger perishing, and the coarser type in body and soul surviving. Of this speculation we may take what suits us, and discard the rest. Some facts are beyond dispute: there were men on the earth in prehistoric days, and there were appalling and destructive climatic changes: the details must be left to our own imagination.

'Neanderthal man' was found first in 1856, in the valley of that name on the lower Rhine; since then it has been found that he had a middling wide European distribution. Restored from the bone fragments found in various localities, he might be described as having a narrow cranium, a retreating forehead, a thick projecting brow ridge, and a rather low average brain capacity. At present there are twenty, or more, individuals of this type, and comparison helps to fix the outstanding features of the race. In two instances the bodies appear to have been laid away by human hands. In this respect, one found in the department of Corrèze, France, is quite notable. It lay in a pit dug in the floor of a low grotto, on its back, head to west, one arm bent towards the head, the other outstretched,

and the legs drawn up. Some bones of the bison were found in the grave as if a food offering had been made, suggesting the idea of a future life. The other, found in the Le Moustier cave in the adjacent department of the Dordogne, conformed generally to the same arrangement, only that the head rested on a pillow of flints carefully placed, with the left arm stretched out so as to be near a magnificent oval stone weapon, chipped on both sides, and evidently laid there by design, and for use probably in the happy hunting, or fighting, grounds beyond.

All this, it is true, does not tell us a great deal about the "Neanderthal" man" of the middle of the Late Stone Age. But so far as it goes, it is not without vivid and instructive interest. The type was not high, and yet man enough to live with zest, to excel in the hunt of the mammoth and bison, and, when members of the clan died, to lay them away with decent burial, and perform funeral rites in the faith of a life to come.

More advanced in humanity, though still of the Late Age of Stone, comes the "Cro-Magnon man" found in a rock shelter on the banks of the Vézère (Dordogne), France, and described as "very handsome." The accompanying cut will bear out the compliment. The head is refined, strong and well developed; the brow is lofty; the chin shapely; and no prominent orbital ridges or protruding jaws. Some ethnologists say that they can still find men of this attractive type in the Dordogne district. Perhaps so. If the "Cro-Magnon man" passed down into the New Age of Stone, he is good looking enough to be acknowledged as second cousin by the best of us, although his culture was that of the vanishing Late Age of Stone.

Coming to the New Age of Stone we find that man has made a marked advance. He now polishes his flint weapons and stone utensils to a smooth surface. Cave shelters and dwellings are in more common use. Pottery is invented. The domestication of animals is begun, and as a first step the wolf is turned into a dog, that most inexplicable friend and companion of man. And with his dog to round them up, this progressive man proceeds rapidly to the successful taming and herding of other animals. This domestication is one of the most remarkable and productive events and conquests in all

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the long history of our kind. Forests and grassy steppes had recovered after the retreat of the ice and cold beyond the Arctic circle. The earth began to smile again, and fresh hope and confidence stirred mightily in the human breast. But there is an element of tragedy in the fact that these changes are too much for the man of the Late Age of Stone. His capabilities are exhausted; he cannot keep up the pace; and he disappears. In a rock shelter in Catalonia quite a remarkable group of paintings was found a few years ago, representing young women wearing dresses, *décolleté*, and short in the skirt, like a fashion plate of last week, the hair gathered at the top of the head, and quite prettily arranged. The figures are supple and graceful. The colors used are red and yellow ochre, white chalk and carbon. The main interest of these cave pictures is that they are very, very old, may be hundreds of thousands of years, and stand by themselves, nothing like them having been discovered anywhere else. Although by no means fine specimens of art, there is a wonderfully modern look about the figures, and a freedom and felicity of touch that are surprising among a people worn out and vanishing from the earth. Whether the man of the New Age of Stone represents a new race come from south or east, or whether he is a revolutionary offshoot from the preceding age of stone, it is idle to speculate. All that we are sure of is that he comes, and that with his advent things begin to move on faster. Conditions become better, and as the etchings on ivory and bone, and the remarkable sketches and paintings of animals in the caves of the Pyrenees show, he is no mean thinker and artist long before the dawn of history.

Even this bare and brief outline shows how prehistoric man, with the rudest tools and weapons, fought against tremendous odds, and carved his way, and won for himself and us an enduring place. When the time was ripe, and the earth was ready for him he appeared, and launched the career which we see in full, if chequered, swing to-day. In one sense, we are very far removed from the primitive conditions of our race, so far, that to conceive them truly is impossible. In another sense, we are not so very far removed, and are still

sharers, to an astonishing degree, of primitive ideas, primitive limitations and primitive shortcomings. Though fearfully and wonderfully made, and but a little lower than God, according to the Psalmist, there still cling to us undeniable traces of old nature instincts and nature discipline; and how instantly they manifest their presence when we are caught off our guard. If the touch of disease, or the poison of an intoxicant reach the brain, how readily the modern man, the civilized man, may drop into the imbecility, or brutality, of the savage. The atrocities committed by the enemy in the present war reveal only too fully how foul a beast may lurk beneath the whitest skin and the shapeliest head, and the most pretentious knowledge. The race has yet a long way to go before the "Man of Java" is wholly outgrown. Being alive to-day does not necessarily make one a man of to-day. Current society may, does, contain specimen individuals of all the ages; primitive men, educated and uneducated, rich and poor, whose ideals, passions, motives, standards of right and wrong, and practices all belong to other ages than this. Modern in appearance and dress, yet of prehistoric time in unredeemed principles and habits. One of the most eminent of our public men, a most accomplished writer also, has unequivocally expressed himself on this point: "Races may accumulate accomplishments, yet remain organically unchanged. They may learn and they may forget; they may rise from barbarism to culture, and sink back from culture to barbarism, while, through all these revolutions the raw material of their humanity varies never a bit." Man has not changed as much as he may vainly think he has. If the civilized part of him is recent, in structure and inherited tendencies, he is, for all that, hundreds of thousands of years old. And the influences of a few generations, or even centuries, acting upon us, and however powerfully from within and without, may be weak in comparison with the nature instincts and the nature discipline which have just been mentioned; that is, in comparison with ingrained qualities inherited from a dateless past. These, indeed, will explain much of our mental and moral habits, as well as of our bodily vestigial structures.

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Through what vast, countless ages, and through what varied circumstances, now helpful, now untoward, has man passed in the making, from the first barely self-conscious chipper of flints to a Plato, a Shakespeare, a Newton, a St. John! Through what endless and dismal wilderness, strewn with his bones and the scanty relics of his culture, had he to pass, before any great impulse to advance seized him, and he began to ascend in knowledge and power! How the inthrust of thought and purpose came to him, and the sense of the ilimitable, we cannot tell; but they came! The germs were there from somewhere, and we can trace, step by step, their development down to the current hour. A bit of invention, of discovery, by search or by accident, led to another, and a larger, and the march of progress was ushered on its way. Man has made his way from the unhafted stone axe and club to modern machinery and arms; from nakedness and the fig leaf apron to modern fabrics and dress; from foul, smoky cave to comfortable dwelling; from scratchings on bone and ivory to the Elgin marbles and the Venus of Milo; from mere guttural grunts and signs to rich vocabularies and well stored libraries; from the worship of the fetish to the worship of the supreme God; and so forth, and so on. These have certainly been steps, gradations, by which the higher races have advanced since prehistoric time, and made all things their ministering servants. And the end is not yet. Progress is always beginning. The thinker, the worker, the pure physical and moral exemplar, we must ever hold in highest honor. We know that "limits, which we did not set, condition all we do." Yet, within these limits there is such room, such glorious, spacious room for the play of our trained and sanctified powers, that the productive use of them should be our chief solicitude and joy.

M. MACGILLIVRAY.

Note.—The illustrations are from Osborne.

ROADS.*

“AS I sat of an early summer morning in the shade of a tree eating fried bacon with a tinker, the thought came to me that I might some day write a book of my own, a book that should treat of the roads and by-roads, of trees and wind in lonely places, of rapid brooks and lazy streams, of the glory of dawn, the glow of evening, and the purple solitude of night, a book of wayside inns and sequestered taverns, a book of country things and ways and people. And the thought pleased me much.”

That is Jeffrey Farnol’s introductory paragraph in the preface to his delightful romance, “The Broad Highway,” and since the science of engineering consists partly in a knowledge of what has been done and written, engineers are entitled to make use of whatever they can lay their eyes on or their tongue to, always provided they give credit where credit is due, so in incorporating such a beautiful piece of English prose into a paper on Roads I conceive I only pay that charming writer a well deserved compliment.

Roads are many. It seems probable that the human race first conquered the water road as far as carrying anything in a vehicle is concerned. The savage races still are content with boats and rafts and quite without wheeled vehicles, and in most cases without pack animals.

Civilization, produced as it is largely by the interchange of ideas and collection thereby of knowledge, has apparently been centred where intercommunication was the simplest.

Water transportation being fairly well mastered, the countries with large coast lines naturally accumulated whatever knowledge was possessed. Hence Greece and Italy, being practically all coast, were the first to master the arts and crafts in any systematic way and to leave any continuous record of their achievements.

*A paper written not for publication but for a rather informal little club.

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The discoveries of the Chinese and of the Babylonians would doubtless have borne greater fruit if there had been direct transportation back and forth with the Mediterranean.

Europe in its turn, with its deeply indented coast line and navigable rivers, led and still leads all the Continents in population per acre, in architecture, in the exact sciences, in universities, and in wealth. Asia and Africa, with coast settlements for thousands of years but without deep narrow inlets, are only half settled still, are uncivilized except on the coast, and will not be either settled or civilized till railroads and wagon roads are built.

North America after discovery naturally developed on the various water routes and only the invention and tremendous construction of railways has made areas comparable to Siberia blossom like the rose. If Asia had a St. Lawrence and Great Lakes system, a Hudson and a Mississippi, probably the history of that continent would have been quite different. Without following such speculations too far and reverting to the written records, it was in the Mediterranean corner of Africa that we hear of the first carriage. Egypt being a level country was adapted to the use of wheels and we read that as a mark of distinction Joseph was invited into Pharaoh's second chariot. This must rank among the very first joy rides. There were differences among the Jews some centuries later as to sensible driving for Jehu the son of Nimshi was notorious for driving furiously, though it is not recorded that he ever paid a fine or lost his license. These were possibly war chariots, as there is practically no biblical reference to roads or road-making.

The Romans were the first to really build roads as we know them, designed to carry not only pack and saddle animals but wheeled traffic. They started the celebrated Appian Way 312 B.C., i.e. more than 2200 years ago. There has been a lot of nonsense talked about the old Roman roads. Unthinking people are fond of asking present day road builders, "Why don't you build roads like the old Roman roads that will last 2000 years?" The truth is the Romans really cleared a right-of-way (too straight at that sometimes, for they went up hill

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and down dale), and put in a foundation that has in some cases lasted till the present. The surface they put on was not subjected to the present traffic conditions and the foundation has in most cases been buried for centuries below the accumulated dirt of traffic.

They worked with slave labor and if the labor had been paid at current rates the cost would hae been prohibitive. Carriages were restricted to persons of high rank, and in Rome transport of goods allowed only at night.

Nero had a thousand carriages but he had about all there were. A recent count of traffic to Barriefield showed 3000 vehicles a day. Along through feudal times the roads were not used by carriages, for people were not allowed to have them. It was said to unfit the people for war; no doubt it did. There is an English saying that "the outside of a horse is good for the inside of a man." Anyway it was a reproach to a man to ride in a carriage, so during those 'so called' good old feudal days the old Roman roads did not carry much wheel traffic. Fifty-eight years after the discovery of America (1550) there were only three carriages in Paris, one for the Queen, one for the King's mistress and one for Rene de Laval, a nobleman who was too fat to ride horseback.

Carriages were only a matter of style—an ornament, as it were. The wife of Richard the Second showed the English ladies how gracefully she could ride on the side saddle, says Stow in his survey of London. "So was riding in those wherlicotes and chariots forsaken except at coronations and such like spectacles."

In 1600 the boatmen on the Thames tried to stop the use of carriages by Act of Parliament, an early example of unionism standing in the way of progress as it occasionally does when badly advised.

Taylor, the water-man poet, writes:

"Carroche's, coaches, Jade's and Flander's mares,
Doe rob us of our shares, our wares, our fares.
Against the ground we stand and kick our heels,
While all our profit runs away on wheels."

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The first omnibus ran in Paris March 18th, 1662, so it appears that till about 255 years ago there was no general demand for a surface on a road. Consequently, *all roads*, as we speak of them loosely, roads for wheel traffic, are properly called modern.

Nothing systematic was done about roads in England until the time of a Scotch engineer called McAdam and his countryman, Thomas Telford. The latter, like many another Scotchman, was very versatile. Before he was an engineer he was a poet in a modest way, then an architect and later a first-class all-round engineer. He was the first President of the Institution of Civil Engineers. If the successors of McAdam and Telford had done their share, or even followed carefully in the footsteps of these two, roadbuilding would be in a more advanced position than it is.

I regret to say that engineering societies since that day, the science departments of our universities, and the more recently equipped technical schools, have been culpably negligent in advancing our knowledge of roadbuilding. Since Thomas Telford died in 1834, roughly about the time our fathers were born, there has been no academic instruction and no research work worthy of the name in the science of road building, which is one of the greatest spending departments in the Commonwealth.

The yardage in a mile of roadway 18 feet wide is 10,560. Even at the very modest price of \$1.00 per superficial yard, \$1,000,000 would not build two-thirds of the way from Kingston to Toronto. Actually any proper permanent road would cost 50% more.

A million dollars' worth of roadwork is not an exceptional amount of work per annum for a growing city or for a good sized city, merely modernizing its streets.

At last, however, our technical colleges are showing signs of life and we may hope that some of the old rule of thumb methods will be explained and ratified where correct and avoided where careful research work shows them to be ill founded. One does not wonder that councils have frequently interfered with their engineers regarding roads. The councillors were,

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if observant men—and occasionally there are such in councils—often as capable in deciding on road matters as the engineer. The engineer in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred does not know anything about roads unless it happens that he was a road engineer somewhere else and learned by experience.

With a few exceptions the knowledge of road building is in the hands of the contractors who are naturally interested parties, and their knowledge, quite sound in a great many instances, is after all generally empirical and is localized instead of being recorded and put before our young graduating engineers by our schools and engineering societies.

Road making, as at present carried on, might be divided into two classes, Rural roads and Urban roads.

Rural roads in the present state of national finance and probably for generations will be in most cases well crowned earth roads or macadam roads, and cannot have what is called permanent surfaces. Urban roads will be in most cases what we call permanent or hard surface roads.

There will be naturally thoroughfares of permanent construction through many rural districts where urban and rural conditions shade into one another. What this construction will be remains to be seen. Beyond a doubt, McAdam grasped a fundamental truth when he asserted that the earth will carry you if you drain it and cover it with a water-proof surface, of moderate thickness, quite opposed to the Roman road idea. He disagreed there with Telford, who insisted on an expensive hand-placed foundation of considerable depth.

What is wanted is a resilient, permanent, waterproof covering at a cost that the traffic warrants.

Right there is where expert engineering and expert accounting should be insisted upon. "What is the cost that the traffic warrants?" Conditions have changed within our own memories.

As an illustration of the condition which Telford and McAdam as engineers were called on to meet, I will submit a few paragraphs from Dickens telling of Tom Pinch's celebrated coach ride to London. Compare it in your mind with our rushing existence and automobile traffic. I hope I won't make the

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English members of the audience homesick, but this is very typical of the conditions of traffic till quite recently—

“And really it might have confused a less modest man than Tom to find himself sitting next that coachman, for of all the swells that ever flourished a whip, professionally, he might have been elected emperor. He didn’t handle his gloves like another man, but put them on —even when he was standing on the pavement, quite detached from the coach—as if the four greys were, somehow or other, at the ends of the fingers. It was the same with his hat. He did things with his hat, which nothing but an unlimited knowledge of horses and the wildest freedom of the road, could ever have made him perfect in. Valuable little parcels were brought to him with particular instructions, and he pitched them into his hat, and stuck it on again, as if the laws of gravity did not admit of such an event as its being knocked off or blown off, and nothing like an accident could befall it. The guard, too. Seventy breezy miles a day were written in his very whiskers. His manners were a canter, his conversation a round trot. He was a fast coach upon a down-hill turnpike road, he was all pace. A wagon couldn’t have moved slowly, with that guard and his key-bugle on the top of it.

“These were all foreshadowings of London. Tom thought, as he sat upon the box, and looked about him, such a coachman and such a guard never could have existed between Salisbury and any other place. The coach was none of your steady-going, yokel coaches, but a swaggering, rakish, dissipated London coach, up all night, and lying by all day and leading a devil of a life. It cared no more for Salisbury than if it had been a hamlet. It rattled noisily through the best streets, defied the Cathedral, took the worst corners sharpest, went cutting into everywhere, making everything get out of its way, and spun along the open country-road, blowing a lively defiance out of its key-bugle, as its last glad parting legacy.

“It was a charming evening. Mild and bright. And even with the weight upon his mind which arose out of the immensity and uncertainty of London. Tom could not resist the captivating sense of rapid motion through the pleasant air. The four greys skimmed along as if they liked it quite as well as Tom did, the bugle was in as high spirits as the greys, the coachman chimed in sometimes with his voice, the wheels hummed cheerfully in unison, the brass work on the harness was an orchestra of little bells, and thus, as they went clinking, jingling, rattling smoothly on, the whole concern, from the buckles of the leaders’ coupling-reins to the handle of the hind boot, was one great instrument of music.

“Yoho, past hedges, gates and trees, past cottages and barns, and people going home from work. Yoho, past donkey-chaises, drawn aside into the ditch, and empty carts with rampant horses, whipped up at a bound upon the little watercourse, and held by struggling carters close

to the five-barred gate, until the coach had passed the narrow turning in the road. Yoho, past churches dropped down by themselves in quiet nooks, with rustic burial-grounds about them, where the graves are green and daisies sleep—for it is evening—on the bosoms of the dead. Yoho, past streams, in which the cattle cool their feet, and where the rushes grow, past paddock fences, farms and rick-yards, past last year's stacks, cut, slice by slice, away, and showing, in the waning light, like ruined gables, old and brown. Yoho, down the pebbly dip, and through the merry water-splash, and up at a canter to the level road again. Yoho! Yoho!

“The beauty of the night is hardly felt when Day comes leaping up. Yoho! Two stages, and the country roads are almost changed to a continuous street. Yoho, past market-gardens, rows of houses, villas, crescents, terraces and squares, past wagons, coaches, carts, past early workmen, late stragglers, drunken men, sober carriers of loads, past brick and mortar in its every shape, and in among the rattling pavements, where a jaunty-seat upon a coach is not so easy to preserve. Yoho, down countless turnings, and through countless mazy ways, until an old Inn-yard is gained, and Tom Pinch, getting down, quite stunned and giddy, is in London.”

That was the type of traffic for which a macadam road was designed and it was quite well designed, its only real weakness being dust, an evil which could be abolished under many conditions.

The invention of railroads probably had something to do with the standing still of road improvement, as people expected too much of the railroad. The automobile has brought the importance of the Highway again to the fore, as it was in the old coaching days, and we must build not for a speed of “seventy breezy miles a day” but “seventy hurricane miles an hour.” Machines have been timed at that speed often enough on straight stretches of our roads—that is against the law, no doubt, but even twenty-five miles an hour doubles the best old coaching schedules.

The urban pavements are of very few general types.

First, the granite block pavement developed from the older cobble stone and flags.

Second, brick. It is rather surprising that brick pavement was not used generally at an earlier stage, but the reason is no doubt that the ordinary commercial brick was unsuitable

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and no one got out a special brick for the purpose as is now done.

Third, wood pavement.

Fourth, bituminous pavements.

Fifth, concrete pavements, using concrete in the popular sense to signify Portland cement concrete, although, technically, bituminous concrete is just as truly concrete, only made with a different cement.

It is possible to lay good pavements of all the above types. Granite is noisy, rather slippery in dry weather, expensive, but wears well. Is good in track allowances, as it can be re-laid when tracks are repaired. A real smooth noiseless granite block pavement would cost like graveyard monuments.

Brick, where properly made, as in Ohio, is a durable pavement. It requires care in laying, particularly as to the grouting in the joint spaces. It is reasonably cheap where bricks and cement are cheap. It is comparatively smooth, somewhat noisy even if well laid and very noisy if carelessly laid or badly maintained.

Wood pavement, properly laid, is perhaps the best pavement to date to withstand heavy traffic. It is not noisy like granite and brick. Under horse traffic it is perhaps not as sanitary as the former and under some conditions is very slippery. Since in order to achieve uniformity it is necessary to select good wood, it becomes quite an expensive pavement and its use is only warranted where the property can stand a heavy tax, as is the case with granite blocks.

It is possible that the Canadian and United States Governments will, at some distant future day through their conservation commissions buy out the wood block interests or gradually close them out with some compensation, as it seems to the writer a waste of a national resource to use good wood for a purpose for which there are so many substitutes. We can sell our North American lumber in the markets of the world but we cannot market our clay and shale deposits and our rocky hillsides, except at home, on account of the freight. Let us therefore lay streets with brick, with granite block, with rock used either in Portland cement concrete or bitumi-

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nous concrete, and let us get the world's cash for our wood. If waste wood could be used the case would be different, but the modern specification for wood-block pavement is very rigid, eliminating nearly all the cheaper woods. Certain rather poor woods if properly treated may be used as railroad ties which are not considered at all for a first-class pavement.

The Australian woods had quite a vogue in London, but I believe their use is diminishing.

No such step is likely to be taken in this generation, and, if it is, the wood preservative companies should be compensated, as their money has been invested in good faith in the wood block trade.

The treatment of wood block as to preservation, waterproofing, etc., is a controversial matter into which I will not enter. It is in such matters that some authoritative research work and record keeping remains to be done.

Bituminous Pavements. Though bitumen or naphtha or asphalt, all names through history for the same substance, has been known since the walls of Ninevah were built and the Egyptian mummies embalmed, no use of it was made in road making till 1854 in Paris and 1869 in London.

The system in vogue was to grind up the limestone from two well-known deposits which carried, as it happened, enough bitumen to bind this powder together after it was heated and tamped. After the invention of steam rollers tamping was only necessary at points inaccessible to the roller. This first used deposit, viz., Val de Travers, after which a company was named, still furnishes material.

A road so built is necessarily expensive, since the consumer is paying freight on the heavy aggregate, that is to say, the rock apart from the bitumen composing 90% of the street surface and paying this freight from Switzerland.

More recent practice is to use a local aggregate of sand or slag or rock and ship in only the pure bitumen. There are several sources of bitumen now available. The most widely known is possibly the Pitch Lake on the Island of Trinidad, sufficiently well described in many school geographies to materially assist the company which controls it to carry on the

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most audacious and successful exploitation of the public, I suppose, in the history of commerce.

This deposit is only about 56% pure bitumen, the remaining 44% being fine sand, volcanic dust, decayed organic matter, etc. An asphalt company in competition with asphalt 99% pure, selling at \$20 per ton, have for thirty years succeeded in selling theirs at \$30 per ton where they should be getting about \$13. Such ability deserves recognition, and if the manager were in Britain no doubt he would be given a title. The Americans did what they could and made one official of the company Police Commissioner of New York and also a General.

A great source of pure or almost pure asphalt is as a by-product from the refining of petroleum oils. The Pennsylvania and Ontario oil wells do not yield asphaltic oils. They are known as oils with a paraffin base. The Californian, Texas and Mexican wells produce asphaltic oils and after these oils are refined, i.e. after the gasoline, light lubricating oils, heavy lubricating oils, vaseline, etc., are distilled the residue is that black pitch known as asphalt. Having bought asphalt from any of the sources, pure at say \$20 per ton, or half pure at \$30 per ton, the engineer, or the contractor more likely, decides on what sand he will use for the 90% portion of the mixture, if of the sheet asphalt design or what broken stone, if of the asphaltic concrete design, and this sand or stone he will buy locally at from \$1.00 to \$1.50 a ton. If he has supplied himself with some Trinidad sand at \$30 a ton mixed in with his asphalt he will need a very little less of the \$1.50 local sand. It is in the selection and manipulation of this local aggregate that experience and care are necessary. Most sheet asphalt pavements have failed because they were porous to start with. It is well known to the trade that a good sand, i.e. a sand having a minimum of voids, simply having very few air spaces, is rarely found in commercial quantities in one pit or in one part of a sand pit. Consequently, sand for the sheet asphalt industry is often transported considerable distances.

What is now generally admitted to be an advance on the sheet asphalt method in many circumstances is known as Bitulithic. This system is based on the proven fact that there

are less voids in a mixture of angular stones carefully selected than in any selection of sand, and also on the fact that angular stones after compression are less liable to slip and roll on one another than are spherical sand grains.

It is admitted by all men experienced in the use of bitumen in connection with either sand or stone that these materials must be absolutely dry before attempting to mix with bitumen. For that reason it is improbable that any real success will result in the northern part of the continent from the application of oil to cold stone. In dry climates a measure of success may be achieved, but it will be found here that good results are obtained only on a few days in each summer, since it takes dry nights as well as days to dry out stone. However, these limitations being understood, a great deal of good work can be done, though the results of makeshift processes are not properly called pavements.

An argument in favor of the properly mixed bituminous surfaces is that 90% of the material is local and inexhaustible. They are cheaper than the others in first cost and sufficiently durable to withstand any but the very heaviest traffic.

Another argument in favor of the asphaltic surfaces is that as soon as the surface is laid traffic can be turned on, while in the case of all pavements using Portland cement either as a wearing surface or as a foundation, from two weeks to a month must elapse while the material sets, that is to say changes its chemical state.

On the other hand, any system of laying asphaltic roads rapidly involves considerable investment in plant and a permanent organization—much more permanent than that of the ordinary contracting companies.

Like wood block, a great deal of very bad work has been done in the laying of asphaltic pavements, and neither system should be discredited for the fault of bad workmanship.

Concrete pavements of the Portland cement type will probably increase in popularity as the use of the horse diminishes and the automobile truck increases. It is handicapped in the east by the extensive range of temperature, which it is not yet designed to withstand in all particulars, and

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on the Pacific coast and central provinces by the high price of cement.

Good materials are essential in this as in all pavements. Several different classes of stone are as bad in a bituminous or a concrete pavement as different classes of wood are in a wood block pavement.

Municipal engineers have recently made an effort to get pavement specifications standardized so that there would be some sort of an ideal to strive for.

It is probable that few of those present know the true inwardness of the answer to the question, Why is a city pavement? For example, the pavement on Blank Street. You may think that pavement was laid because you Kingstonians needed it,—perhaps you did,—or that the City Engineer of that day thought you needed it,—perhaps he did; but these are not the reasons you got it, far from it. The real underlying reason was that a company with a heavy overhead expense had to sell those blocks to somebody and selected Kingston as the victim that year.

The procedure is almost Kaiseresque. The said Paving Company no doubt did what all owners of patented pavements do. A first class salesman is engaged at a salary of \$250 per month or over and a most liberal expense account. Ten years ago he also required a capacity for potent liquors that would have been the envy of the two bottle men of the 18th century, but that is out of date. To-day he must be like the Apostle Paul—all things to all men, a “glad hand artist” raised to the nth power. He is coached in his subject like any salesman, goes to the proposed city and registers at a good hotel—he must ride Pullman, by the way. He takes an unobtrusive walk through the town or city and decides for you whether or not certain streets should be paved. He gets together (also unobtrusively) information about your taxes, assessment, charter, etc. etc.

He may then leave town for some days or weeks and confer with his principals.

Among the etceteras of information he took with him would be a fairly accurate estimate of the whole municipal

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governing body individually and collectively and the names of some residents on the street or streets he proposes that you shall pave, some one of which residents being the man finally selected to start the ball rolling. On the second trip to your fair city this resident will be induced (quite often by mere argument if he be the ideal selection for the position and the salesman is of the proper calibre) to act as sponsor for the pavement of which he is shown a sample. He may be invited to some distant city or cities to look at finished streets, but believe me, some of the streets he sees have been paved a long time and of other materials. Generally he is shown what is called "a good time" if he wants it. The common procedure is then for the chosen one to display "a proper public spirit and interest his neighbors in "street improvements." A petition is started and, if it is properly done, in the hands of a skilled promoter, no matter what opposition develops in favor of cheaper competitive pavements, the Council is put in the easy position of giving the people what the majority wants, and the Engineer "be blowed."

One ambitious company not satisfied with the above hackneyed system recently undertook to pave practically whole cities (they did pave two), but really acted so much like the Kaiser that the whole paving fraternity disliked them and in paving parlance "put the skids under them." On one occasion one of this company's men in a moment of expansiveness caused indirectly by the delay in enacting prohibition legislation in a western province, gave up to a competitor's harder-headed employee the following, which he copied, and the copy found its way finally to many people who were more directly interested than this audience. The names of course are altered:—

No. 1.

John Jones, Mayor. Before election he was Secretary and Treasurer of the Excelsior Lumber company and is still connected with it, although not supposed to be, and sells lumber to the city. The Excelsior Lumber Company supplied the lumber used in the building of the north shore (Red-light) settlement. Jones owns a house there called "The Owl," and is in close touch with Billy Smith who controls the quarter. Jones is said to "approachable." A Liberal in politics.

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No. 2.

F. L. McInnes, Alderman. Had contract for building all north shore (Red-light) houses and now draws rent from two or three. Took contracts for city work while holding office.

M. J. Henderson, City Commissioner. Gets on periodicals, at which times he fluctuates between the Rossin House and Palace Hotels. Is in close touch with Jones and McGinness, but no one ever "got the goods" on him. At Provincial elections forced civic employees to vote his way, Conservative.

No. 3.

Geo. Brown, straight, Alderman on Conservative ticket. Will vote for material which in his judgment is best for the city. Deals in Coal and Real Estate.

Alderman Manning, straight. This is his first term.

Alderman MacKay, straight. This is his first term.

Alderman Atkins, straight. This is his first term.

Alderman S. B. Beatty, straight. This is his first term.

Alderman Bush. An uncertain quantity, but I believe may be approached. Quite a "Rounder."

Alderman Magnus Bell. Straight.

Alderman A. C. Ford. Said to be approachable.

Alderman S. G. Moffet. Straight.

Alderman Lindsay. Straight, fond of raising questions at Council meeting.

No. 5.

B. Y. Allison, City Commissioner. Straight.

D. L. Watson, Alderman. In with Jones, Henderson and McInnes. Married the widow of a man named Raney who owned houses at "The Bridge," which were closed up. I have seen him several times on the street with Billy Smith. Allison, Jones, Henderson and McInnes really control the City Hall outfit. He is a Conservative.

It is unnecessary for illustrative purposes to say how close to the truth the report may be, but evidently like the Kaiser's men he really was turning in reports probably cross-checked by another employee unknown to him.

The company referred to went into the hands of the receiver and one of our big bonding companies is saddled with the job of maintaining certain streets in our western cities for some years to come. Fortunately the strong companies, having got a contract, do the best work they know how, because in the last analysis they live by their reputation.

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The remedy of course is business management of the cities and stronger men in the position of City Engineer or Highway Engineer. The position of City Engineer or Highway Engineer is about the poorest place there is to economize on salary. A growing city may easily spend as I have said from half a million to a million in one year in pavement. Our provincial act nominally but not actually takes care of this feature in regard to Highway work.

7. The Council of a county in which highway improvements are undertaken under this Act shall by by-law appoint an engineer *or some other competent person* to be approved by the Minister to act as county road superintendent under the direction of the Council.

8. No grant shall be made to any county under this Act until section 7 has been complied with.

9. The County Road Superintendent shall place some competent person as foreman or inspector in charge of any work which it is impossible for him personally to oversee, and it shall be the duty of the foreman or inspector to see that the work is properly carried out.

10. No member of the council of the county and no member of the council of any local municipality in the county shall be appointed or act under sections 7 or 9, or be employed by the county road superintendent in any capacity, and any such member who is appointed, or who acts or is employed in contravention of this subsection shall be disqualified from sitting or voting in the council of which he was a member at the time of his appointment or employment. 2 Geo. V. c. 11, s. 4.

“Some competent person” may be any one unless the Minister is assisted by a defined standard.

We need research work in street cleaning. It does seem as if invention in that line has scarcely kept pace with our requirements.

We invest a lot of borrowed money in pavements of several types and pay into a sinking fund to wipe out the debt, and we are lucky if the payment isn’t wiped out before the debt. I mean literally wiped out and washed into the sewers. We no sooner get a pavement laid till on comes a big tank of water under pressure of from 20 to 75 lbs. per inch with nozzles which direct the water theoretically in a horizontal direction over the surface of the pavement. Actually and unfortunately there is a large part of the force directed downward. The dirt on the pavement is washed into the storm sewers,

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together with an appreciable part of the pavement itself. This material—part dirt and part pavement—is caught in a receptacle at the bottom of the catch basin or gully trap, which you see every few hundred feet along the gutter. In large cities, generally at night, a gang picks this material out with long-handled shovels, loads it into a wagon, and off it goes to the nearest dump.

Here is where proper research work and cost keeping is required. If that is the cheapest thing to do after including the value of the pavement, and the most sanitary, let us keep on, if not, let the cities stop hydraulicing their pavements, as some have stopped, and encourage the use and stimulate the invention of the street cleaning machines along the lines of the suction carpet sweepers.

As the horses disappear from our down town streets, cleaning problems will be perhaps simpler. We need legislation, and are getting it in some places to prevent oil drippings getting on street surfaces. Adjacent oiled streets are as bad offenders as automobiles.

It is probable that through Highways in order to warrant the tremendous capital expenditure will in our northern zone involve a system of snow removal, otherwise the roads would be blocked to motor travel for about three months to four months per annum; 25% to 35% idleness is almost unthinkable. It is quite conceivable that after the war we may invest in a lot of second-hand tanks on which to mount some special form of rotary snow plow with suitable air compressors to blow the snow clear in cuts. It is not probable that the old style buck plow of the railways will be suitable as that system depends on both weight and speed. There is room here for inventive ability; perhaps some military genius will work it out during this winter's campaign.

A great necessity exists for the supervision of the spending of public money in roads but this applies to all public moneys so there seems no special reason for dilating on such political questions in an address on Roads—it seems to Engineers and economists no worse for New York State to spend fifty million dollars in perishable macadam roads than it was

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to spend it deepening the old Erie ditch to 8 feet when Canada finds the 14 foot Welland Canal obsolete. New York City issued 50-year bonds to pay for a 15-year pavement.

Some Local Improvement Acts with us prevent some of those instances of idiotic financing. On the other hand, an act recently come into force in a western province in an effort to enforce exactitude in the amount of bonds issued and to earmark such moneys for certain work thus protecting the taxpayer, has thrown the municipality possibly too much into the power of the banks. I say possibly, for we have not had time to test out the workings of the new act.

The way it stands is that work must be completed before bonds are issued, in order that the exact cost, no more, no less, be covered by the bond issue, payments in the meantime being made by borrowing at the bank or elsewhere. It does look as if a municipality then is selling its securities in a sense at a forced sale for other necessities are arising which demand more money, but the bank says, nothing doing till you sell those road bonds and reduce your notes. I may be wrong in this view but it looks that way, from the road.

Our position regarding road maintenance has always been a striking instance of our North American prodigality and general thriftlessness. As long ago as Tresaquet's time, that is to say before Napoleon's time, France arranged for permanent maintenance of her highways. In Europe there are section gangs on the roads just as in America we have section gangs on the railroads. In no place in our civilized life is the truth of the old precept "A stitch in time saves nine" so applicable as in repairs to roads and road drainage. Quite good roads and adequate drainage systems are allowed to be almost ruined for lack of systematic attention which would pay for itself over and over again not only in comfort but in direct saving.

As to our Ontario situation, it is probable that there will be great activity in road building. The cities will continue to improve their streets no doubt, but the main movement will be in Interurban Highways. Here again "big business" will make its presence felt; we are going to see one of the finest

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selling campaigns in the history of the continent between the asphalt and cement interests. The Imperial Oil Co. have just completed their refineries at Montreal and will have asphalt for sale. You no doubt realize that the Imperial Oil is the Standard Oil of Canada, that our esteemed Food Controller is only one of the able men on that directorate, that their competitors are the cement interests merged by our other esteemed Canadian, Max Aitken, now Lord Beaverbrook, who "got Lloyd George and Bonar Law together," and who is probably a sufficiently able promoter to sell cement in competition even with Standard Oil—you should realize I say that such interests surely will arrange that Ontario, nay Canada, will buy their products just as you bought the pavement on Blank street.

Do not understand that I am an opponent of 'big business.' I firmly believe that is the modern and most efficient way to educate the people on the necessary scale. Square miles of pavement must be handled both as to sale and installation on a broader system than lightning rods.

Added to this we have the automobile makers and the automobile owners, the latter heavily taxed, not only demanding good roads but supplying the wherewithal. Further, it would seem that road building may provide one of the least wasteful means of distributing public money to ease us over the strain of readjustment after the war. Granted that the returned men may be in some cases only 75% efficient, if we can show 75% value in permanent improvement to our transportation system it will be a greater percentage than any other of our war expenditures which are nearly all 100% waste.

All these considerations point to some powerful, properly organized control, similar to our Railway Commission or Hydro Electric Commission.

We look a little nervously at Sir Adam buying the Ontario Power Co. for \$22,000,000 and the Trent system for \$8,000,000 odd, but I assure you that the whole Hydro Electric system past, present and future is picayune business compared with what our road expenditures are going to be from the day Peace is declared.

We have our railroads built. What we have now to do is to make them pay. We are going to build railway terminals and Highways. We will parallel our Transcontinental Railroads with Highways for motor trucks from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Gulf of Mexico very close to the Arctic Ocean.

I feel that I have only introduced the subject of Roads, concerning which there is at present so little written but about which in this generation a great mass of information will certainly be assembled and classified.

There is no poet, no novelist of the road—Dickens touches it, as we have seen, but not in the sense that Clark Russell, Fenimore Cooper, Captain Maryatt, Joseph Conrad, William McPhee and others write of the sea. Consider Byron's *Ocean*, one of the most majestic of English poems. Perhaps the road is considered too commonplace a thing, and yet Kipling writing of those followers of the road, the Gipsies, indirectly and perhaps unconsciously, pays it a tribute as the goal—the ideal—the ever-shifting home of the gypsy lover, in his beautiful verses, "The Gypsy Trail—

"The white moth to the closing vine,
The bee to the open clover,
And the Gipsy blood to the Gipsy blood
Ever the wild world over.

Ever the wild world over lass,
Ever the trail held true,
Over the world and under the world
And back at the last to you.

Out of the dark of the Gorigo camp,
Out of the Grime and the grey,
(Morning waits at the end of the world)
Gypsy come away.

The pied snake to the rifted rock,
The buck to the stoney plain,
And the Romany lass to the Romany lad
And both to the road again.

Both to the road again, again
Out of the clean sea track,

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Follow the cross of the Gypsy trail
Over the world and back.

The wild hawk to the wind swept sky,
The deer to the wholesome wold,
And the heart of a man to the heart of a maid
As it was in the days of old.

The heart of a man to the heart of a maid,
Light of my tents be fleet.

Morning waits at the end of the world,
And the world is all at our feet.

T. S. SCOTT.

A TYPICAL NEW ENGLAND PHILOSOPHER.*

DR. Wenley has given us a most interesting and instructive account of one of his predecessors in the Chair of Philosophy in Michigan University. It is true that George Sylvester Morris, dying in his prime, did not succeed in reaching a final standpoint in philosophy; but he was well on the way to it, and in any case the process by which he attained to something like a fixed basis of thought is typical of many minds in his day. Brought up in a rigid Puritan home, it was not easy for him to surmount the preconceptions which had obtained a firm hold of his mind and spirit, and to reach a measure of intellectual clearness. His father, Sylvester Morris, was a man of massive personality, with all the intensity of the New England conscience; and his mother, with her family traditions of six ancestors who came over in the Mayflower, was well fitted to reinforce the English Pilgrim strain in her son. Sylvester Morris was a democrat of the purest breed, a man for whom distinctions of class simply did not exist, the sole realities for him being God's providence and man's responsibility. Intellectual toleration, gentle breeding, and the amenities of life he neither possessed nor regarded, but he was for many years the sole exponent in Royalton of justice and right on the two great social questions of his day—slavery and intemperance. In spite of the harsh and unlovely features of Puritanism, as embodied in a man of strong individuality, it undoubtedly tended to fashion men of sterling worth of character, as Kant says of the Pietism of his own day, and its influence is seen in the strong ethical bent which distinguished George Morris through the whole course of his life.

The Morris household preserved intact the essential spirit of New England Puritanism, tempered by the mother's "in-

*The Life and Work of George Sylvester Morris: A Chapter in the History of American Thought in the Nineteenth Century. By R. M. Wenley. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1917.

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herited love of culture and beauty." Young George obtained some musical education, and indeed became later a fair performer of instrumental music himself. In the Kimball Union Academy, which he entered in 1854 at the age of fourteen—he was born in 1840—he got a thorough start in both Latin and Greek, which later served him in good stead when he entered Dartmouth College in the autumn of 1857. Here, besides classics he studied French, Philosophy and Physics. The study of Philosophy was not of a very profound type, consisting of Whately's Logic, Reid's Intellectual Powers, Butler's Ethical Discourses and the Analogy. The College does not seem to have had much if any influence upon Morris' way of thinking: as is evidenced by the somewhat crude judgment, that Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre* "will be found to incline to an eclecticism in religion which is no less fatal to the universal spread of pure Christianity than it is removed from the express teachings of Scripture." A journal which Morris kept at this time is redolent of an intense and often introspective piety. The "church of God" is assumed to be synonymous with the Congregational Church, to which the Morris family belonged. The value of his other literary judgments at this time may be inferred from the remark that the poems of Keats were "utterly offensive to his feelings." His range of reading at College was wide, including Scott's Kenilworth, Robertson's Scotland, De Quincey's Essays, Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, and Mansel's Limits of Religious Thought,—the last a book which developed from the philosophy of Sir William Hamilton a doctrine that unintentionally furnished Herbert Spencer with his main argument in favour of Agnosticism.

From 1861 to 1864 Morris acted as Principal of Royalton Academy. He still remained true to the teaching of his New England home. "Intellectual and spiritual nature," as he said to his scholars, "is to be managed and directed by us to the greatest individual development, for the highest good of the race, for the glory of God and our final well-being." As for Astronomy, "It is regarded as historically certain that astronomical observations were made, with considerable success, at least, soon after the fall of the tower of Babel. . . . The visible

universe constitutes a standing argument to demonstrate the glory and power of the Creator. A correct appreciation of its vastness and undisturbed order, together with its marks of exquisite design, strengthens in the mind the belief in the Deity." Morris still proposes to find his vocation in the Christian ministry. His inherited attitude towards life is as yet entirely undisturbed, although he nears his twenty-second birthday. Right is right, not in itself, but because it is commanded by God.

Morris' teaching was temporarily brought to a close by the Civil War. In August, 1862, President Lincoln issued a call for 300,000 militia to serve for nine months, and Morris was one of the first to enlist. He regarded it as simply his duty to give his time and services to his country in her supreme hour. It must be confessed that his zeal was much in excess of his military instinct. Dr. Cox tells us that he "handled his gun as awkwardly as a woman does an axe, and when he marched, it was out of gear with the rank and file." He was therefore provided with a tent of his own, and made postmaster of the regiment. Morris came one night into the tent which Cox shared with four others, bringing with him copies of Hamlet, and the five occupants of the tent in the course of a few months had gone over all the best of Shakespeare's plays. Like Descartes, he found a way of softening the austerities of camp life.

His sister finds that his letters from the camp show how his character is developing. Still his fundamental standpoint has as yet received no shock, nor has he given up his intention of entering the Church. In the fall of 1863, after completing his term of military service, he joined the Staff of his alma mater as Tutor in Greek and Mathematics, a post which he held for one college year. In July, 1864, he proceeded to the degree of M.A. While his outlook on life has been enlarged by experience, the old theological convictions appear to stand fast untouched. But he was destined to forego this theological framework, and to pass through the darkness of doubt to the radiance of reasonable faith.

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In September, 1864, Morris entered Union Theological Seminary, probably influenced in his choice by his admiration of Professor Henry Boynton Smith, who had a distinguished reputation both in philosophy and theology. Here he read widely in philosophy, history and literature, and made occasional excursions into science. The result was that his mind began to react against the commonplaces of Paley and the exponents of current orthodoxy. The Rev. Dr. Moseley H. Williams from his own experience of a theological school of his day came to the conclusion that "a Theological Seminary really does not go into theology very deeply at any time," and in any case that "the excitements of the Civil War gave a practical turn to the thoughts of the students." Dr. Smith was on the whole a follower of Schleiermacher. His sympathies lay with the School of Conciliation, and Morris seems to have experienced a certain disappointment with his teaching. The upshot of his state of mind was a desire to go to Europe, and in 1866 he put his resolution in practice. When he arrived in Halle, he attended lectures by Ulrici on Logic and History of Philosophy. After the semester he visited Prague, Vienna, Venice, Bologna and Florence, and finally found his way to Rome. There, as we learn, he "went to see the feet of the pilgrims washed . . . the dirtiest and most unintelligent looking men and boys I ever saw! . . . They behaved well enough, but, oh, my God, what rays of intellectual or spiritual light can have reached their minds and hearts?" None of his experiences abroad seems to have made any substantial change in his evangelical traditions. Nevertheless there are clear indications that he had finally decided to abandon the vocation of the ministry. While in Germany he was greatly influenced by Trendelenburg, to whom he refers as "the first philosopher now living in Germany"—not a very enlightened judgment. Returning home, after two years spent as a private tutor he was appointed to the chair of Modern Languages in Michigan University, and during his tenure of office he translated and annotated the English edition of Ueberweg's History of Philosophy. The translation, says Professor Dewey, "is a monument not only to the breadth and accuracy of his scholar-

ship, but to his entire fidelity and thoroughness in executing whatever was committed to him. . . . All the numerous references to Greek and Latin authorities were verified and translated; ambiguities in style and statement were corrected; the bibliographical references were increased from the ready and ample store of the translator; numerous accounts of the more noted contemporary German philosophers were added." For some years Morris took little part in the general affairs of the University, probably because he was ill at ease intellectually and spiritually. He was always inclined to "consume his own smoke," and this interpretation is only inferential. Those were the days of Mill, Spencer and Huxley. Agnosticism saturated the air, and the new scientific school developed a new dogmatism that outrivalled the old theological dogmatism. In December, 1877, he received an invitation to become Lecturer on History and Ethics in Johns Hopkins University, a post which he held for eight years, but without dropping his connection with Michigan. Morris was not altogether comfortable at Johns Hopkins. President Gilman was a great organizer, but he seems to have had an antipathy to the Idealism for which Morris now stood. The result was that philosophy during his tenure of office came to occupy a subordinate place in the University. It was therefore no doubt a relief to Morris when he received the appointment to the chair of Philosophy in Michigan University, and finally severed his connection with Johns Hopkins. During his occupancy of the chair he numbered among his colleagues Dr. George H. Howison, afterwards transferred to the chair of Philosophy in the University of California; Dr. John Dewey, now the occupant of the chair of Philosophy in Columbia, and well known as one of the most distinguished of the logical school of pragmatists; and Dr. Williston Hough, later Professor of Philosophy in the University of Minnesota and editor of the translation of Erdmann's History of Philosophy. In 1885 Morris made his last visit to Europe, where he met among others Principal John Caird, his brother Professor Edward Caird, and Professor Flint of Edinburgh. In Germany he saw his old friend, Professor Uphues, who told him

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that they were in the full tide of the Neo-Kantian and Ritschlian reaction—"the attempt to combine theoretical scepticism with religious mysticism," as Uphues put it. At Berlin he met Lasson, who "agreed that an end to the present prevailing Kantian agnosticism, and the recognition of Hegel, would have to come." In this view he was confirmed by Kuno Fischer, whom he saw at Heidelberg. Fischer maintained that, "while there was no school of Hegelians, bound to defend the system as Hegel left it, the world was coming, and must come, to recognize the truth in him."

The development of Morris was typical of the spiritual history of many men in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. He grew up in a very definite social, moral and spiritual atmosphere. During the years of service in the army and as tutor at Dartmouth, he had intellectually not gone beyond the inherited views which he had imbibed in the home. The first signs of an awakening to the necessity of some philosophical justification of faith seems to have come to him when he was attending the Union Theological Seminary. With the changed point of view introduced by Darwinism and its philosophical exponents, he was forced upon an examination of his fundamental beliefs. In his perplexity he obtained little assistance from Professor Smith, who, while asserting that faith is "perfectly rational," inconsistently denied that it could be developed on philosophical principles. Such a teacher could hardly help Morris in his perplexities, and it may have been an obscure consciousness of this fact that led Smith to advise him to go to Europe for the completion of his philosophical education. When in Germany he became a pupil of Ulrici and Trendelenburg, Smith's old teachers. What he learned from them was not so much any definite set of ideas as the impulse to master the history of philosophy. What indeed could be learned from a man like Trendelenburg, who attempted to solve the problem of the relation between Thought and Being by confusing the thought of movement with the movement of thought, as Kuno Fischer pertinently remarks? When he really began to think for himself Morris left Trendelenburg and even Schleiermacher behind. In the outburst of irra-

tionalism in men like Moleschott and Büchner he naturally could find no rest.

Morris did not study the successors of Kant, and especially Hegel, till after 1877. Previous to this time he seems to have read only the superficial popular expositions of these thinkers—a most perilous method for any one who desires to get at the truth. This facile way of dealing with a great thinker was only too common at that time among many teachers of philosophy in the United States and elsewhere, and is not unknown even now. Professor Wenley tells us that one occupant of an important philosophical chair, who was accustomed to spend much time in flouting Hegel, told him that he had tried to read Hegel, but had "given it up as a bad job." Apparently the immorality of his procedure had never dawned upon him! Morris of course was incapable of this method of refuting a great thinker without understanding him, but he was preoccupied with the collision between the representatives of phenomenism and agnosticism and for some time did not get beyond the opposition between "natural law and mechanism, human freedom and divine final cause." In recoil from this antithesis he attempted to vindicate the reasonable character, not of religion, but of certain dogmas accepted on trust. Thus his attitude was theosophical and mystical, just as that of contemporary men of science was empirical and mechanical. From this dogmatic attitude he was awakened by a small group of English thinkers, including Green, Caird and Wallace, who maintained that we must take into account the successors of Kant as well as Kant himself, and who sought by this necessary historical method to reconstruct philosophy on fundamental principles. As Edward Caird, in a passage cited by Dr. Wenley, contends: "The work of Kant and Hegel, like the work of earlier philosophers, can have no speculative value except for those who are able critically to reproduce it, and so to assist in the sifting process by which its permanent meaning is separated from the accidents of its first expression. And such reproduction is not possible except by those who are impelled by the very teaching they have received to give it a fresh expression and a new application." This was the atti-

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tude of Morris after 1878. The “reproduction” by him was, however, not that even of his British contemporaries. He was in fact till the last decade of his life still in a state of unstable equilibrium. But, especially after a careful study of Kant and his idealistic successors, Morris came to the conclusion that “individual or unipersonal self-consciousness reveals itself as not merely numerically one and self-identical, but as the one which pervades the many, the individual which is one with the universal as an organic part of consciousness itself. . . . This larger self is divine; it is universal, living, effective reason, it is absolute Spirit.” Thus, as Morris held, a valid theory of knowledge must lead to the theistic conception of the universe. “The philosophic and the religious conception,” he says, “run hand in hand.” He had come to realize that philosophy cannot furnish any object out of all relation to experience. There is still in him a certain trace of mysticism, indicating that he has not made clear to himself the relation between the popular religious conception of God and the Absolute. Had he lived longer he would have been compelled to face this final problem, but death overtook him—he died in 1889—just as he was beginning to “find his feet philosophically,” as his biographer aptly puts it. The antithesis between man as phenomenal and man as noumenal appealed to the inherited moralism in Morris, and with such force that it could not be entirely swept away. It must however be remembered that his expression of the new truth in the old language lent to his philosophy a more theological cast than it actually bore.

While Morris cannot be said to have made a distinct contribution to speculative philosophy, he did much for it in the United States, and as a teacher he displayed the highest qualities of mind and heart. He possessed a distinctive personality, due in large measure to the ethical fervour which he brought to his teaching. He held, as Professor Edward Caird said, that “it is possible to carry back the world of experience to conditions that are spiritual.” The force of his influence was shown in the fact that his teaching made itself felt in the whole of the University work of his pupils. He impressed them not only by a certain austere dignity of character, but

by the entire absence of an uneasy self-consciousness. Morris was of opinion that what American thought needed above all to free it from provincialism was an adequate acquaintance with the great thought of the past. "All who knew him," says Professor Dewey, "knew how genuine and how deep was his appreciation of the beautiful, especially as manifested in poetry and music. . . . It brought him into congenial sympathy with some of the greatest spirits of the race, notably Plato, whom he never spoke of without a kindling enthusiasm, a warmth of sympathy which no other philosopher ever aroused in quite the same degree. . . . To those who did not know him, no use of adjectives would convey an idea of the beauty, the sweetness, the wholeness of his character. . . . His gentle courtesy in which respect for others and for himself were so exquisitely blended, his delicate chivalry of thought and feeling, his union of intellectual freedom and personal simplicity—who shall speak adequately of these traits? . . . My chief impression of Professor Morris as a teacher, vivid after the lapse of years, is one of intellectual ardour, of an ardour for ideas which amounted to spiritual fervour. His very manner as he lectured on a theme dear to him was like an exemplification of his own attachment to the Aristotelian doctrine, that the soul is the form, the entelechy, of the body. His spare and tense frame seemed but an organ for the realization of thought. The image as it stands forth in my mind to-day is accentuated by the fact that his energy was never vehemence. His emphasis always seemed moral rather than physical. He had vigour; his manner was never indolent; he threw himself with positiveness into his message. But his physique, though firm knit, was not of itself sufficiently vigorous, so it seemed, to account for the verve of his teaching. As his eye lit up and his face shone, there was fire without heat, energy without violence—an exhibition of the life of thought."

With these illuminating words we may fitly take leave of a man who, had he not been cut off prematurely, would without doubt have worked his way to a more complete and rounded system of ideas. To his successor in the chair of philosophy in Michigan University we owe a deep debt of gratitude for

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the great pains he has expended on what has obviously been to him a labour of love. Is it out of place to suggest that he might well add to our gratitude by an independent discussion of the main problems of philosophy? The masterly way in which he has traced the philosophical development of his predecessor—a hint of which has been given in this all too inadequate summary—and the illuminating comments he has made as it were incidentally, give us reason to believe that he is eminently fitted to discharge such a task in a thoroughly efficient way.

JOHN WATSON.

THE WISDOM LITERATURE OF THE HEBREW PEOPLE.*

THESE three books do not cover exactly the same ground though they deal in some measure with the same theme, viz., Hebrew Wisdom or Philosophy. Professor McFadyen is well known in the Presbyterian Church of Canada, as for many years he rendered noble service in the Old Testament Department of Knox College, and was highly esteemed by those students who came into contact with him. We follow with interest his work since he returned to his native land, and note that even in these strenuous days of war he continues to send out one volume after another in rapid succession. Within the past year we have received a popular exposition of the Book of Job, "The Problem of Pain," a revised translation of the Psalter, and the present volume which includes the text of Lamentations and Ecclesiastes, as well as Job, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, three books which belong in a strict sense to "The Wisdom Literature." The volume now before us is not an exposition or commentary but an attempt to give a clear and beautiful translation which will almost render a commentary unnecessary. For those who desire such aids to further study an extensive bibliography is given at the end of the volume. The brief notes supplied at the close of the translation cover only 47 pages. The author's justification is given in the following words of the preface: "The notes in this volume are more numerous than in the other, because the text of these books is very frequently difficult to the point of desperation, and it is no part of an interpreter's business to

*The Wisdom Books in Modern Speech by Professor J. E. McFadyen, M.A., D.D. The Wisdom of God and The Word of God by W. R. Harvey-Jellie, M.A., B.D., Dr. ès Lit. Studies in Life from Jewish Proverbs by W. L. Elmslie, M.A. These three volumes are of similar size, having about 300 pages, and the price in Canada of each would now be \$1.50. James Clarke & Co., London.

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create the impression of certainty, where the evidence is inadequate, ambiguous or baffling. But I have reduced the notes to barest minimum, giving only such as justify the translation, explain allusions or briefly elucidate obscurities: they are in no sense a substitute for exegesis. Commentaries will always be necessary, but too often they shadow the text instead of illuminating it. The ideal commentary would be a perfect translation, for then, without intervening explanation, the ancient writer would make his own immediate impression, and speak home to the hearts of his readers as a man speaks to his friend." That is rather hard on the commentators, and reminds one of Beecher's saying that "there is a great deal of straw about the Bible, especially the commentators."

In a recent learned commentary there are three pages of grammatical and lexicographical notes on the first Psalm. But alas, the "perfect translation" which will make the commentary on an ancient text superfluous is very difficult to attain, and Professor McFadyen would be the last to maintain that his translation is perfect. But in this volume he has given in compact form translations of five books which the general reader may use with profit and the student will find useful for reference. It is not possible in a brief space to review a book of that kind. For example, it might be questioned whether the well-known cry:

O vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher;
Vanity of vanities, all is vanity

is really improved when it appears in this form,

Utterest vanity! The Speaker declareth;
Utterest vanity! all is vanity.

At the beginning of Job's famous Lament (C. III) we read:

Perish the day wherein I was born, and the night which announced that a man-child had come.

"Announced" does not strike one as particularly poetic, and it is probable that the original was

And the night which said behold a man (a male).

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But things like this are few and far between in a book which has much scholarly work and graceful translation. The book of Job has had much careful toil spent upon it; buried in Lange's Commentary there is a fine attempt at a rhythmical translation, by Professor Tayler Lewis (New York, 1874), but it is not now easily accessible. The following is a fair specimen:

Is not man's life a warfare on the earth?
His day, the hireling's day?
As gasps the servant for the shadow's turn,
As longs the toiler for his labor's end,
So am I made the heir to months of wretchedness,
And nights of pain they number out to me.

In Dr. McFadyen's version the passage appears as follows:
(VI: 1-3)

Hath man on the earth not a warfare,
With days like the days of a hireling,
Like a slave that pants for the shadow,
A hireling that longs for his wages
So empty months are my portion,
And wearisome nights mine appointment.

Or take the striking passage from XI: 7-8 in the earlier and later versions.

Eloah's secret, canst thou find it out?
Or Shaddais' perfect way canst thou explore?
Higher than heaven's height, what canst thou do?
Deeper than Sheol's depths, what canst thou know?
Its measurement is longer than the earth,
And broader than the sea.

(Taylor Lewes).

Canst thou find out the deep things of God,
Or come nigh unto the Almighty's perfection
It is higher than heaven—what canst thou?
Deeper than Sheol—what knowest thou?
Longer than earth is its measure,
And broader it is than the sea.

(MacFadyen).

This kind of work has to be repeated in each generation and Professor McFadyen with his accurate knowledge of Hebrew and rich command of English is well equipped for the

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work. It is stated that "The beauty, charm and real meaning of the Song of Songs have never been as felicitously brought home to English readers," and yet one questions whether the substitution of "dread" for "terrible" in the well-known passage is an improvement.

Who is this that looks forth like the dawn
Fair as the moon,
Clear as the sun,
And *dread* as an army with banners?

These are matters of taste, and it is to be remembered that there is no book where we relish unnecessary changes less than in the Bible.

It is not the intention to attempt a review of Dr. Harvey-Jellie's book as that would require considerable space. Under the title "The Wisdom and the Word of God" he surveys the whole movement of what he calls "intellectualism" in Israel from the earliest sages down to the time when, after being modified by Hellenism, its higher truths were absorbed in the New Testament Theology and its lower elements degenerated into dead "Rabbinism." This involves, besides much general discussion, an examination of Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, The Son of Sirach, The Wisdom of Solomon, the writings of Philo, etc., and an estimate of the influence of these earlier documents on the teaching in St. John's Gospel and the Pauline Epistles. In a small volume a subject so large can only be covered in a sketchy fashion but there ought to be a large class of readers to whom such a general review would be very useful. The author, as may be seen from his degrees and writings, is a scholar having a wide acquaintance with books and a real sympathy with human life, he has also a keen desire that this comparatively neglected region of Old Testament study should be shown to be both interesting and edifying. He is willing to receive help from those who have devoted much technical learning to these particular books, and in contrast to some evangelical writers he gives a pretty good certificate to "the higher critics." He tells us that, "The vast amount of reading entailed in the preparation of the subject has done much to reveal the reverent tone and the intel-

lectual sincerity of modern Biblical scholarship, and it has also disclosed the high devotional value of the 'Wisdom' Books of the Old Testament." Of course in a review of this kind there are many particular statements open to discussion if that were our present purpose but we conclude with a quotation that shows the aim and spirit of the book.

"And as we look back upon the long line of Hebrew sages, of devout thinkers in post-exilic Israel and of cultured philosophers in the intellectual *milieu* of Alexandria, we realize that these men must, on their different levels, be ranked side by side with the Prophets who were ever 'searching what time or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did point unto, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glories that should follow them' (I Pet. 1: 11). Their work had less of glamour about it, for it lay more strictly within the limits of intellectual activity. But they paved the way by which men journeyed to a full recognition of the necessity for personal distinctions within the God-head. And when at length the fullness of the times was come, Christian Apostles were able to see a greater glory in the Person of the Lord when they recognized in the historic Jesus 'the Wisdom of God' and 'the Word of God.' "

Studies in Life from Jewish Proverbs is a careful solid piece of work by one of our younger scholars. The present reviewer has a personal interest in it as it comes from the son of one of his old teachers. Professor W. G. Elmslie was a man who, at the time of his appointment to the Chair of Hebrew Exegesis in the Theological College of the Presbyterian Church of England, at that time in London, seemed to have before him a specially brilliant and useful career, as he had all the qualities, competent scholarship, great powers of exposition, and broad human sympathies, required for that work at a period of controversy, transition and reconstruction. But he was carried off by sudden illness at a time when he had scarcely got a complete grasp of his new duties; it was felt by a wide circle of friends to be a severe loss to the College and the Church. Twenty-eight years have passed away, and his son, who has specialized in Semitic languages and literature, pre-

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sents this review of Jewish Wisdom. As he had already written on Chronicles and parts of the Mishna it was evident that he had been attracted by what some have regarded as the most dreary region of Biblical study. However, such phrases as "dreary," "uninteresting" have meaning, in such a connection only from the popular point of view. "The Wise, it is true, were neither perfect Saints nor complete Philosophers, but our subject is the Humanism of the Jewish Proverbs, and if even this Ben Sirach, model pupil of Wisdom, is not a wholly inspiring figure, is he not very human? Moreover, the utmost has not been said on behalf of the Sages."

This is a careful satisfactory piece of work and reflects credit on the author's learning, diligence and skill; it is a pure literary and historical study, there are parallels with our own life and literature but there is no straining after apologetic or theological application. The question of the Proverb and of practical philosophy is considered in relation to the ancient Semitic nature and environment, the Hebrew development, Greek influence, and Rabbinic scholasticism. The volume may be cordially recommended to students of history and literature whatever may be the line of their present studies. The writer is specially concerned with Proverbs and Ben Sirach, (it is interesting to note that in a memorial service held in the Metropolis of the Empire the other day, one of the most striking chapters of the latter book, "In Praise of Famous Men" was read), but he sets the whole subject in a large framework and relates it to the general current of the great stream of human development. It is closely packed so that no summary or detailed review can be attempted here. These three volumes will make a good start, along with the necessary commentaries, as a modest equipment for the study of this important though less attractive field of Hebrew literature.

We close with a quotation, which shows the quality of Mr. Elmslie's style and his manner of sometimes relating this subject to that great affair that now claims so much of our attention.

"Not seldom it happens that enthusiasm for a cause is first provoked by opposition. For example, belief that inter-

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national relationships ought to be governed by ethical principles was generally and genuinely held by the vast majority of English-speaking people in 1914; but the belief lacked energizing force. It seemed enough to entertain it. Of the existence of a fundamentally different conception—that Might is the ultimate right in national affairs—we were of course aware, but the knowledge did not disturb us greatly. We fondly imagined that after some more debate, and a little more reflection, so unenlightened and unneighbourly a notion must disappear. When, however, Germany suddenly put false theory into infamous practice, mark how our amiable opinion became not only an urgent and indispensable ideal, but a definite policy which must at all costs be upheld and made effective, if humanity was to be saved from the yoke of an utterly immoral tyranny. In a moment we realized the awful immediacy of the issue that had been at stake. The debate was not as we supposed, on paper. Here was no wordy strife. Nay! the battle at our gates was not confined even to the quick bodies of men; it penetrated to the very mind and spirit, so that almost St. Paul's words seemed again in place: 'Ours is not a conflict with mere flesh and blood, but with the spiritual hosts of evil arrayed against us in the heavenly places.' "

W. G. JORDAN.

PROFIT SHARING AND PRODUCERS' CO-OPERATION IN CANADA.

AT the present time, when the disputes between capital and labour have reached, or are fast reaching, a state of acute tension, any proposals aimed at promoting better relations between employers and employed, when framed with the express intention of giving labour a greater share in the profits, and more influence in the conduct of industry, are of peculiar interest.

Two schemes, closely allied to each other although not necessarily nor indeed generally allied, are profit-sharing and producers' co-operation. Midway between the two lies labour co-partnership, thus forming the connecting link. The last, if pushed to its logical conclusion, is the natural although not inevitable goal of the first. All three systems have been, and in a few instances still are to be found in Canada: a study of them cannot but prove of interest.

Definition.¹

Profit-sharing is understood to involve an agreement between an employer and his work people under which the latter receive, in addition to their wages, a share, fixed beforehand, in the profits of the undertaking. A grant or bonus, made at the absolute discretion of an employer, and not upon any pre-

¹I have followed here the definitions given in the report of the English Board of Trade on Profit-sharing and Labour Co-partnership in the United Kingdom. Cd. 6496. 1912.

The material for this study has been gathered from a great many sources. The report to the English Board of Trade lists six examples in Canada of profit-sharing. The files of the Labour Gazette have supplied a like number, and its editor, Mr. Bryce Stewart, has kindly put me on the track of a few more. The other examples have been supplied to me from different sources, and through personal investigation. In every instance information has been most willingly and courteously given in answer to inquiries addressed to the firms in question. None of the instances of Producers' Co-operation have been published before.

arranged basis, is not a case of profit-sharing for the present purpose.

Labour co-partnership is an extension of profit-sharing, enabling the worker to accumulate his share of profit in the capital of the business employing him, thus gaining the rights and responsibilities of a shareholder. A still further stage is found in some co-partnership schemes which provide for a direct share in the management as well as a share in the profits, one or more seats on the board of directors being expressly reserved for representatives of the work people.

Producers' co-operation is that system by which the whole management of the business is turned over to the employees and the profits therefrom divided among them, the original owner of the concern retaining a share fixed by mutual arrangement beforehand.

Of these three systems, we have had in Canada thirteen experiments at profit-sharing, that is to say where the share in the proceeds of industry is agreed upon beforehand. There have also been a large number of firms which have given bonuses, as an act of grace, and not on any prearranged scale. Particularly so is this true at the present time where many business houses are giving war bonuses to their employees, notably among the coal miners. These, however, do not conform to our definition and may be disregarded.

Of the second category, labour co-partnership, we find nine examples in Canada. It is interesting to note that of these nine only one, Messrs. Stanley Mills & Co. of Hamilton, presents the feature of reserving on the Board of Directors seats for the labour co-partners.

Of producers' co-operation we have had eight examples, all of which are defunct. We must, however, acknowledge that, so far as can be ascertained, we have had no example of an employer handing over his business to his work people, but all the schemes of producers' co-operation have originated among the workers who have left their former employment and set up for themselves. In 1914 a proposal was made by a certain employer, whose name need not be mentioned, to hand over his business to his employees, but although the details of the whole

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arrangement were carefully worked out, the outbreak of war and the ensuing uncertainty in trade prevented it from being carried out.

History.

It is not the intention of this little study to detail the history of profit-sharing and producers' co-operation, the literature on the subject is already sufficiently large, but simply to recount the experiences of those who have tried it in Canada. Both systems originated in France, or perhaps it would be said found their modern expression in France, as the theory at least of profit-sharing was known in England before it was started in Paris in 1842 by Leclaire, a prosperous house decorator. He was the first to put the idea in a practical working form; although there was undoubtedly an attempt made in Ireland at an even earlier date. Since then the system has been tried in almost every country with varying success, often with no success at all, the mortality among experiments of this kind being very high. For instance, of the 299 recorded instances of profit-sharing schemes in England, 163, were, in 1912, defunct, and no information as to what has happened to the survivors since the war is as yet obtainable.³ In the United States also, a large number of schemes have failed, there being only 60 at present in force, and certainly more than that number have failed.⁴ The mortality in Canada has been equally high. Of the thirteen profit-sharing schemes, eight are now defunct, and of the nine co-partnerships two have been discontinued; while, as has been mentioned before, all the producers' co-operative systems have failed.

Reasons for Failure.

The reasons why such ill-success has met so many efforts at introducing profit-sharing schemes are not far to seek, and may be summarized as follows. On the side of the employers

³Report of English Board of Trade, p. 15.

⁴Profit sharing in the United States by Boris Emmet, Bulletin 208 of U.S. Dept. of Labour, 1917. Contains an extraordinary detailed analysis of profit-sharing schemes.

it was often found that the hoped for result, in the shape of increased zeal and efficiency on the part of the work people, did not show itself. The complaints on this score are numerous and bitter. Over and over again we find the employer stating that he abandoned the scheme because his employees showed no appreciation of the benefits extended to them, looking upon the increased remuneration as their right, and not as a privilege or an incentive to greater efforts, and not considering it incumbent upon them to make any attempt to increase their efficiency. Bitterly disappointed in this the employer has thrown up the scheme in disgust. Another fruitful cause of discontinuance, even when the system has been working well, has been a change in the business or in management leading to reorganization and a dropping of the scheme. This, of course, cannot be attributed to any defects in the system or theory of profit-sharing.

The Trade Unionist Attitude.

On the side of the employees we find several reasons, the most compelling of which is the unalterable hostility of the trade unions to any form of profit sharing or labour co-partnership. In a recent study of profit-sharing in the United States,⁵ the opinions of 21 American labour leaders are quoted, and all of them, without a single exception, are absolutely opposed to the system under any circumstances. For instance, Mr. Samuel Gompers says: "This proposition has never been seriously considered by the organizations of labour. I desire to say further that it has come under my observation that some employers who have inaugurated systems of so-called profit-sharing have pared down the wages of their employees so that the combined sharing of profits and their wages did not equal the wages of employees of other companies in the same line of industry. What we are especially interested in, more than profit-sharing, is a fair living wage, reasonable hours and fair conditions of employment." Other opinions are all along the

⁵Profit-sharing by American Employers, published by the National Civic Federation, New York, 1916.

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same lines, the argument invariably being that if the employees have deserved a greater share in the proceeds of their industry, it should be given to them in the shape of higher wages. Another objection invariably made is that the system is primarily aimed at keeping men from joining the unions, which is quite frankly acknowledged to be true by many employers who have tried the plan.

Perhaps the most comprehensive and just system of profit-sharing ever tried was that started by Sir Christopher Furness in his great shipbuilding yards in England. This great scheme, which attracted wide notice, lasted but a very short time and was abandoned at the request of the men themselves, who, although absolutely satisfied with the plan, saw in it the greatest foe to trade unionism, and who, in a spirit of altruism, rather than endanger their principles, were willing to surrender the benefits accruing to them under the scheme. Mr. G. N. Barnes, the labour leader in England, said of this experiment: "If all the employers in England were as fair-minded and as decent as Sir Christopher Furness, there would be no use for the unions, and we could afford to disband; but unfortunately not all employers are of his type, and if we should disband to-morrow, we should, under economic pressure, gradually drift back to where we were twenty-five years ago, or worse."⁶

A report to the Fabian Society by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb is uncompromisingly hostile. "The aim of profit-sharing is not the finding of a new organization of industry so that it may be governed in the interests of the community rather than in those of individuals, but the discovery of a way to avoid conflicts between the capitalized employer and the wage earner in his service."⁷ This impeachment is, of course, frankly accepted by the authorities on co-partnership. Mr. Aneurin Williams says: "Co-partnership in its ultimate development seeks to promote a harmony of interests between the workers,

⁶Quoted in report of National Civic Federation.

⁷The New Statesman, Feb. 14, 1914. Supplement on Co-operative Production and Profit-sharing.

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whether with hand or brain, and those who find the capital. From socialism and from syndicalism, from voluntary association and from capitalism, it takes the best elements and strives to conserve and to harmonize them in the common interest of all.”⁸

Such an ideal, to the thorough-going trade unionist, is an impossible one. What he regards as economic justice for the worker can only be won through trade unionism, and the final conclusions of Mr. and Mrs. Webb are fully in consonance with this attitude. “No schemes of profit-sharing, or the sale of shares to employees, or permission to them to have representatives in the board of directors—philanthropic in intention as some of them may be—avail to rescue the manual workers from the penury and economic subjection incident to the capitalist system; no such scheme ought for a moment to be entertained which, by causing the workers to abandon trade unionism, to forego the right to strike, or to enter into long-term agreements terminating at different dates, places them at the employer’s mercy. Even the best of profit-sharing schemes have proved to offer the employees advantages which are largely delusive, and have the drawback of militating against the maintenance of an effective standard of life for the trade as a whole. There are some schemes of profit-sharing, put forward as philanthropic, which, in their absence of security against the arbitrary fixing of nominal capital on which interest is charged, in their failure to set any legal limit to the salaries awarded to themselves by the directors and managers, and in their lack of any restriction as to the sum that may be taken out of profits for depreciation and reserves, amount actually to traps, if not even to fundamental traps, to catch the unwary workman who is nominally admitted as a partner.”

Finally the Webb report makes an observation which is well worthy of the closest consideration. “It is indeed plain, on the ordinary principles of prudence, that the very last investment that a workman ought to choose for his savings is

⁸Co-partnership and Profit-sharing, by Aneurin Williams, in the Home University Library Series.

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the industry—least of all the very enterprise—on which he depends for his daily bread."

Beneficial Results from Profit-sharing.

Having now given the objections raised by organized labour to profit-sharing, it is only fair to speak of the definitely beneficial results that have been attained. The report of the National Civic Federation, already referred to, summarizes these benefits as follows:—

1. Promotes more continuous service and more regular attendance.
2. Builds up confidence.
3. Eliminates the rolling-stones and encourages home building.
4. Enables companies to keep employees during the rush season.
5. Creates a better spirit among the workmen, notably increasing the loyalty and interest on the part of those retaining their stock, and produces a greater spirit of co-operation between employer and employee.
6. Promotes regularity of employment, and increases the effectiveness and profits of the business.

Such results cannot be ignored and must not be underestimated. They are all, from the point of view of the workman, as much as from that of the employer, highly desirable.

Employers' Objections to Profit-sharing.

But we also find some very strong opinions expressed by employers who have tried the system in objection to it, which may be summarized as follows:—

1. Failure of employers to grasp the significance of the system.
2. Dissatisfaction on the part of the employees when the profits are small.
3. Employees count on bonus payments and make use of them in advance.
4. Preference on the part of employees to have their wages raised instead of receiving a bonus.

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5. The sale of stock to outsiders in those cases where the stock is distributed.

A moment's reflection will show that the whole question turns on the one great, fundamental problem, is labour entitled to a greater share in the products of industry, aside from any philanthropic efforts on the part of individual employers, or, in other words, should a greater share in profits be conceded to all labour as a matter of right, or as a matter of grace by well-disposed employers? There lies the crux of the whole problem, and the answer to it is not the immediate concern of this study, but must be left to the individual reader to supply for himself.

Canadian Examples of Profit-sharing.

The examples of profit-sharing to be found in Canada afford some very interesting instances of success and failure. Success has come, as will be readily seen from a perusal of the record, where the relations between employers and men have always been of a cordial description, and where the offer of a profit-sharing scheme has been accepted by the employees in the spirit in which it has been made, that of cordial goodwill and mutual esteem. The men were not unionized, were generally of long standing in the firm and received the extra money paid out to them as a mark of appreciation for faithful service. Such a spirit marks, perhaps, the happiest relations that can possibly exist in the industrial world.

Not all the instances are given in full, several being omitted as not exhibiting features of particular interest, but a sufficient number are cited to give, it is hoped, a clear view of the movement as it has developed in Canada. In every case permission was sought from the firms involved, and most willingly given, to publish their experiences.

The W. F. Hatheway Company, Limited, of St. John, New Brunswick, wholesale dealers in tea, flour, etc.⁹ This company has the honour of being the first in the field, so far as records

⁹Details published in report to English Board of Trade. The subsequent history of the scheme has been very courteously supplied by the firm itself.

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are available, it having operated a scheme of profit-sharing from 1888 to 1913. Since that date the changed conditions occasioned by the war has necessitated an abandonment, perhaps only a temporary one, of the system. Employees with salaries of from \$1000 to \$1500 received 2 per cent. of the company's net profits; those with salaries of from \$500 to \$1000 received 1 per cent.; and workmen in the tea room and warehouse received from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 per cent., according to wages. The bonus was paid in cash; but the participants were strongly advised to leave their bonuses on deposit with the firm, receiving 6 per cent. interest thereon, and nearly all of them did so. The sums so deposited were intended only to be drawn upon in the event of a death in the family, or other serious emergency, or for investment in land, a house, etc. The scheme worked well, and the company report—

"We found that many of the employees were able to save money, and frequently it so occurred that when anyone had to leave our employ he was able to take with him quite a reasonable amount of money he had saved, and which was bringing interest." The company also says: "It gave the employees an amount to fall back on in case of sudden disaster or wish to start for themselves. It made them take a much greater interest in their work, and more careful about stock, book-debts, etc., producing a better attention to business; bad accounts were watched, and old stock sold more promptly."

*The John Morrow Machine Screw Company, Limited,*¹¹ of Ingersoll, Ont., had a profit-sharing scheme in operation from 1903 to 1908, under which in 1906 the sum of \$1500 was distributed. The reasons for abandonment were that the company found the amount distributed too small to be appreciated, and after the first year or two the employees regarded the bonus as their due. The company finally concluded "that good wages and a bonus system enabling the employees to earn increased wages by better work were more satisfactory than the system of allowing the employees to share in the profits at the close of the business year."

¹¹Given in English report, p. 109.

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*The British Columbia Electric Railway Company.*¹² This company, operating street railway systems in Victoria, Vancouver, and New Westminster, introduced profit-sharing in 1902. After paying 4 per cent. on the ordinary shares, the balance of profits available for dividends was allotted as to two-thirds to the ordinary shareholders and as to one-third to the employees. Every employee who had worked for twelve months regularly in each year was entitled to participate, all sharing alike without regard to rank or length of service. This feature, differing from most systems where wages and length of employment are taken into account in apportioning the shares, was explained by the company in saying that in their view "the share in the profits was intended to represent an appreciation of loyalty, and there was no reason why loyalty should not be equally appreciated when found in employees receiving a small salary as those who are better paid."

In 1903 the sum of \$7,500 was distributed, each man receiving \$25, and in 1910 \$60,000, the individual share being \$57.31, although an even larger individual share, \$66.78, had been allotted in 1908. The reason for this decline in the share to each man was owing to the fact that the company from 1908 to 1910 was incurring heavy capital expenditure in carrying out great extensions, which were not at first quite so remunerative as the old established routes. This extension had brought a large number of new employees into the company's service, who had not served long enough to entitle them to the bonus, and these new men agitated against the bonus, although the older employees were satisfied with the system. The company therefore abolished the profit-sharing system in 1910, giving instead a general increase in wages.

*The Wortman & Ward Manufacturing Company.*¹³ The scheme of profit-sharing inaugurated and carried out by this

¹²Ibid.

¹³I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. W. H. Wortman for the details of this system, hitherto unpublished, and for the table given below.

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company in London, Ontario, was of such an unique and interesting description that it is worthy of detailed notice. According to Mr. Wortman, who has been good enough to supply the particulars, the system was a "home-made one." The employees of the firm were divided into ten classes, according to number of years' service, all who had served over ten years being reckoned in the tenth class. The aggregate of the year's wages paid to the men was considered as stock and the amount added to the capital stock of the company outstanding. That is to say, to take a purely hypothetical case, supposing the capital stock of the company to have been \$200,000, and the aggregate amount of wages paid out annually was \$50,000, the amount was reckoned as \$250,000. After ten per cent. had been deducted from the year's profits for the shareholders, the balance was divided among the employees and the shareholders in the proportion that the total amount of wages bore to the share capital, in the hypothetical case mentioned, the shares of course being one-fifth to the employees, and four-fifths to the shareholders. This share was then divided among the men in accordance with the following somewhat novel and involved but yet effective plan:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Class.	Cents.	Number of Men in Class.	Amount.	Multiple.	Total for Class.	Share of each man.
10 year men	100	20	\$20.00	60	\$1200	\$60
9 year men	90	5	4.50	60	270	54
8 year men	80	3	2.40	60	144	48
7 year men	70	3	2.10	60	126	42
6 year men	60	3	1.80	60	108	36
5 year men	50	2	1.00	60	60	30
4 year men	40	4	1.60	60	96	24
3 year men	30	3	.90	60	54	18
2 years men	20	3	.60	60	36	12
1 year men	10	21	2.10	60	126	6
			37.00		2214	
Less than 1 year		50	1.50		75	150
		117	38.50		2289	

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The explanation of the above table is as follows: For the purpose of arriving at the proportion to go to each class, every year a man had served up to ten was reckoned as 10 cents (column 2). The amount thus arrived at was then multiplied by the number of men in each class, the result being the figures in column 4, which serve as the basis for the share to go to that particular class. It was then necessary to arrive at a common divisor of the whole amount to be divided for each class, and this was arrived at by taking a round sum of \$2300, deducting from it \$75, the amount to be divided among those who had served less than one year, and dividing this sum by the amount for the ten classes in column 4, namely 37. The result was 60, and the amounts in column 4 were then each multiplied by 60, the result being column 6, which was divided by the total number of men in each class, the result being the individual shares as shown in column 7.

This system worked admirably, and was greatly appreciated by the men. The company had in its employ over 50 men whose length of service averaged over ten years, many of them with over 20 years. Mr. Wortman sold out the business in 1913, and under the new management the profit-sharing scheme was dropped.

Messrs. Stanley Mills & Co., Ltd. This firm, which operates a large departmental store in Hamilton, started a profit-sharing scheme on the stock-subscription plan in 1903. As originally planned the scheme was a distinct success, but unfortunately the reorganization of the business made it necessary to alter the system somewhat, and the conditions proved disappointing in arousing the interest of the employees. The capital of the company consisted originally of \$450,000 in common, and \$50,000 in preferred stock, all in \$25 shares. The preferred shares were intended for employees only, the dividend of 8 per cent. being cumulative and paid before any dividend was paid to the ordinary stockholders. Bonuses of 1 and 2 per cent. were also paid to holders of preferred shares when the company had an especially good year. The shares were sold to the employees at par, and could not be sold or

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transferred to any person other than the company, and an employee holding shares on leaving the company's service was under obligation to surrender his stock to the company at its par value.

In 1911 the number of employees of the company varied from 128 to 253, and at the end of the year there were 31 employees who owned 587 shares of the value of \$14,675. In 1913 the company reorganized its capital. Employees, who were also shareholders, with at least five years' service, were given the option of exchanging their old 8 per cent. preferred shares for new 7 per cent. preferred shares, together with a bonus of 100 per cent. in common stock, which was more valuable than the preferred. Such shareholders participate as ordinary shareholders in the risks and profits of the business, and they are permitted to retain their shares upon leaving the employment of the company. Of the effect of this reorganization, the company writes as follows: "The result was somewhat of a disappointment to us, as comparatively few took advantage of our offer. Those who did subscribe, however, represented the best element in the store. We regret that we cannot report any great success to our scheme to interest our employees. The result might, in a sense, justify the statement that the average wage earner knows little or nothing of joint stock corporations, and hence such persons are sensitive or over-cautious in these matters, especially when, perhaps, one or more others, who have nothing to invest, are apt to ridicule the idea."

The W. J. Gage Company. The profit-sharing system undertaken by this large firm of manufacturing stationers in Toronto can best be described in the words of Mr. A. G. Parker, the Secretary-Treasurer of the company, who has kindly given the following outline of the scheme: "We have been operating a simple system of profit-sharing in our business here for a number of years, which in practice amounts to the following:—A block of the unpaid capital stock of the company is allotted to Mr. W. J. Gage as a trustee; he enters into an agreement with each of the employees (heads of departments and men in responsible positions) under which they are

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permitted to purchase from one to five thousand dollars' worth of stock, depending upon the importance of their position in connection with the house. As, of course, dividends cannot be paid upon capital stock which is not paid up, dividends are not declared upon this stock but the agreement with each employee provides that a *bonus* will be paid, equivalent to the current dividend; this bonus to be applied on the payment of the stock against which there is a first charge of 6% per annum for interest. If in any year there is no dividend, then no interest is charged. If in any year the dividend is 6% or under, then the amount of the dividend is regarded as payment in full of the interest. If the bonus be above 6% then the amount above the interest charge is credited on the purchase of the stock. Permission is given for an employee to make any additional payments he may so desire during the term of the agreement, which is usually for five years. At the end of the period, the stock actually paid for becomes the property of the employes, subject, however, to an understanding that in the event of the employee leaving or dying, the President has the option for sixty days to buy back the stock, paying for it the amount that has actually been paid in as the purchase price of the stock.

"The above arrangement applies, as we have said, to men occupying more or less important positions in the house. For the benefit of those who do not participate in this stock purchase we pay an annual bonus based on the profits of the year and length of service. Last year we paid to all our employees, with the exception of those above referred to, who had been continuously in our employ for twelve months, one additional week's salary or wages, and two weeks' additional salary or wages to those who had been continuously with us for two years or over. The first block of \$25,000 capital stock issued under the above arrangement has all been taken up by our employees and last year we issued another block of about \$22,000. In the first block the payments were extended over a period of five years, the second for three years."

The James Walker Hardware Company, Montreal. In 1907 this company adopted an arrangement whereby five of

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the oldest of the employees of the firm were given an opportunity of subscribing for stock in the company at par, the net earnings thereon, less a percentage representing interest, to be applied as payment on the shares. Other employees benefited under an arrangement whereby a certain sum was set aside for them, of which ten per cent., after deducting interest, was paid to them on a profit-sharing basis. This plan was not a success and was discontinued because, as the company reports, "we found it did not accomplish the results desired. Our men seemed to feel that it was a gift, rather than something for which they had to work. As a matter of fact, with one exception, it did not produce any tangible evidence of the desire on the part of the recipient to exert himself for our mutual benefit."

The Steel Company of Canada. As an example of the more elaborate and detailed forms of profit-sharing, no better can be found than the system in force among the employees of the Steel Company of Canada, and the circular issued in June, 1913, is here printed in full:

"It is the desire of the Company that the employees should share in the success of the Company and, with this end in view, it offers them the opportunity to subscribe for Preferred Shares of the Capital Stock of the Company on a basis which it believes will appeal to them as favorable.

The Company has purchased a certain number of the Preferred Shares of the Company, and has secured an option on sufficient to bring the number up to 1500 shares in all, costing the Company considerably more than the price at which it is offered to employees. Quarterly dividends have been paid since the inception of the Company on its Preferred Stock at the rate of 7% per annum. The employees are invited to subscribe for this stock on the following terms:

1. The employees may subscribe for this stock at \$83 per share, and the number of shares that they may subscribe for will be on the basis of salary or wages earned per year.
2. Those employees who have earned \$600 per year or less may subscribe for one share.

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\$ 600.00 to \$ 900.00.....	2 shares
900.01 to 1,300.00.....	3 shares
1,300.01 to 1,800.00.....	4 shares
1,800.01 to 2,400.00.....	5 shares
2,400.01 to 3,000.00.....	6 shares
3,000.01 to 3,700.00.....	7 shares
3,700.01 to 4,500.00.....	8 shares
4,500.01 to 5,400.00.....	9 shares
5,400.01 and over	10 shares

3. In case the total subscription exceeds the amount of stock available, then the subscriptions will be scaled down as determined by the Trustees.

4. Payment for the amount of stock subscribed for by each employee shall be made in monthly instalments of at least \$1.50 per share per month, to be deducted by the Company from the first payment in each month of employees' salary or wages.

Subscribers may agree to pay larger instalments than \$1.50 per month, and so pay for their stock in a shorter time than four years, and so long as such subscribers continue in the employment of the Company, and continue to hold in their names the certificates for such stock, they will receive the same benefits and bonuses as other subscribers who have not taken advantage of the privilege of paying more than \$1.50 per share per month, but should such subscribers leave the Company or sell their stock they will forfeit any future benefits and bonuses.

5. The subscriber may have not exceeding five years within which to pay his subscription. Interest at 6% per annum will be charged on all unpaid amounts.

6. As an inducement to each employee under this plan to make his payments regularly, until the amount subscribed for is fully paid, and to retain his stock thereafter and to remain continuously in the employ of the Company, the Company in the month of July in each of the four years, commencing July, 1914, will declare a bonus upon the stock so set apart for employees, which bonus it is hoped will be \$5.00 per share,

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which with regular monthly payments and dividends credited to each subscriber's account, less interest at 6% on unpaid amounts, should pay for this stock in less than four years.

7. All who subscribe for stock on this basis, and are on list which will close on July 1st, 1913, and who remain continuously in the employ of the Company during the period of repayment of this stock, will also share in a further bonus, which cannot now be ascertained, but which will be derived from the following sources, viz.:

Those subscribers who during the period of payment for stock leave the employ of the Company, will not share in the bonuses which shall have been declared yearly by the Company on this stock, but the Company will, however, pay into a special fund each year those bonuses on this stock which would have been paid to subscribers had they continued with the Company. This fund shall also be credited with 6% annual interest, and at the end of the period when all stock shall have been paid for by subscribers the total amount thus accumulated will be divided into as many parts as shall be equal to the number of shares subscribed and paid for by subscribers who shall have continued in the employment of the Company continuously during five years.

8. In the event of a subscriber leaving the service of the Company before his stock shall have been fully paid for, he will not be entitled to receive any of the shares subscribed for, but he will be repaid the payments that he had made on account of the stock, with interest at 6% per annum, but he will not be entitled to any dividends or bonuses that have been credited to his stock account.

9. In the event of a subscriber becoming so disabled that he will be permanently incapacitated from resuming his then occupation, or dying while in the service of the Company, his estate will be paid all payments made on account of his subscription, also any bonuses credited previously to his disability or death, also dividends which have been credited, less interest on the unpaid purchase price at 6% per annum, and he may take this out in paid up stock at purchase price or cash as he or his estate may decide, or he or his estate may pay the un-

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paid balance on subscribed for shares and receive certificates therefor, but in such case he or the representatives of the deceased will thereafter have no claim on future bonuses or benefits, and will have the status of an ordinary shareholder of Preferred Stock.

10. In case a subscriber discontinues working for the Company, owing to sickness, injury, or closing down of works where he is employed, for one month or more (not exceeding 120 days), monthly payments need not be made by him during such discontinuance of work.

11. In the event of a subscriber being discharged from the Company he will be entitled only to be repaid the payments that he has made upon the stock, with interest at the rate of 6% per annum thereon. If he should be in debt to the Company for any advances made on wages or salary or any other account, this indebtedness will be first paid out of any balance due him.

12. All subscriptions by employees shall be made with the express understanding that the decision of the Trustees, who will be appointed by the Company, shall be final with respect to the rights of the subscribers and all questions relating to the same."

With regard to the success of this scheme, the Treasurer of the company says: "This scheme worked out very well, and we are contemplating, just as soon as the second Victory War Loan is disposed of, giving our employees a further opportunity of purchasing preference shares." The allusion to the war loan is, of course, in reference to the facilities given by this company, and many others in Canada, to its work people to purchase Victory Bonds on easy payments, the company advancing the funds for them to do so. Such a system would necessarily interfere with the selling of preference stock to the employees.

Two corporations having their headquarters in the United States, but operating in Canada, the International Nickel Company, and the International Harvester Company, both have elaborate schemes of profit-sharing in operation, the benefits of which are extended to their employees in Canada.

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In view of the details already given of the system of the Steel Company of Canada, it will be superfluous to give these two systems in full, but one difference must be marked. In the system of the Steel Company of Canada there is no provision made with regard to the length of service in apportioning the number of shares an employee may purchase, the basis is solely that of the amount of salary drawn. In the other two schemes the length of service is taken into account, as, for instance, according to the schedule of the International Nickel Company, those who draw salaries not over \$825 and have served over five years with the company, may subscribe for two shares of the common stock; if they have served for less than five years they can only purchase one share. The scale is thus carefully graduated up to a maximum of 10 shares which may be purchased by an employee who has served 10 years and is drawing a salary of over \$4033.34 a year.

The Ford Profit-sharing Plan. Since this famous automobile manufacturing company operates a plant in Ontario, and the so-called profit-sharing system has attracted very considerable attention and interest, it will be fitting to say a little on the subject. In the first place it must be understood that, in the rigid acceptance of the word, the Ford plan is not profit-sharing but an attempt to secure increased efficiency by paying abnormally high wages made possible through extraordinary conditions of industry. The payments made to the men are made outright, as a part of the regular daily wage; they are not a stated percentage of the annual profits, nor in any way dependent upon the size of the profits. The report, already referred to, of the National Civic Federation has some severe strictures of the system. "While the Ford plan may be an ideal one for that plant, it is not applicable generally throughout the manufacturing industry, and it is extremely doubtful if there are many concerns that could successfully adopt it. The Ford company manufactures and sells a finished product ready for delivery to the consumer, the market for which it is able to create. The company has practically no rivals in its own field and need not cut prices unless it sees fit to do so for

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the sake of larger sales and still larger gross profits. Therefore it is able to fix its own wage scales without reference to the conditions faced by concerns in close and active competition." "The Ford plan is founded essentially upon an extraordinary internal business condition and on its face shows its impracticability of application. It is also bad economics from the point of view of the business community."

Other Examples in Canada.

We have now recorded most of the profit-sharing schemes, either in operation or defunct, which call for any particular notice. Besides these, there are quite a number of firms which have profit-sharing systems, although several cannot really be called more than the granting of a bonus at the discretion of the management, such not being strictly profit-sharing. Among such are The Dunlop Tire Co., the Wm. Davies Co., The Western Fuel Co. of Nanaimo, B.C., The American Bank Note Co., Ottawa, The Lincoln Paper Mills Co. of Merritton, Ont., The Calgary Street Railway Co., and The Frost Wire Fence Co. Several of the chartered banks make a practice of giving an annual bonus to their staffs. Messrs. Strains, Ltd., opticians, of Winnipeg, started profit-sharing among their employees in January, 1917, the company agreeing "that after paying all salaries and wages, as heretofore, and paying all stockholders eight per cent. annually on the book value of the stock of Strains Limited, and after making allowance of two per cent. for reserve fund, and deducting a reasonable amount for depreciation of furniture, fixtures and equipment, we will then take the surplus profit and divide it among the employees, in proportion to their yearly wages or salaries." The Canadian Copper Company, of Copper Cliff, Ont., have had a profit-sharing system in operation for some years. In answer to an enquiry as to its success, the President of the Company says: "The scheme has been entirely satisfactory and very well received by the employees. We are, however, contemplating a change for this year, and in lieu of issuing stock to employees we propose financing them in buying Victory Bonds, paying for them on the instalment plan and scat-

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tering the payments over one year. We will charge them the same rate of interest that they receive on the bonds."

A very ambitious scheme was announced in 1910 by the Wattsburg Lumber Co. of British Columbia, which undertook not only to issue shares to employees, of which three-fourths had been paid up, but also to build cottages and grant land for the work people. There is no record to show whether this succeeded and inquiries have failed to bring any further news.

This completes the record, so far as research has been able to discover, of the various schemes for profit-sharing and labour co-partnership in Canada. The reasons why the system has not been more successful in the different countries where it has been tried have already been sufficiently explained; but perhaps one word more may be added with regard to conditions peculiar to Canada. Trade unionism is not, as yet, greatly developed in Canada, and unionism is admittedly the foe of profit-sharing, but other causes, quite as strong, have prevented profit-sharing from gaining much ground in the Dominion. Labour is very fluid, and the chances of a man being able to better himself so great that the turn-over in the labour force is exceptionally high. Wages are high, and the chances of an ambitious man stepping from the wage-earning class to the employer or independent class are very good; in Canada the old saying "once a workman always a workman" has little or no force. Finally, the opinion of Mr. Aneurin Williams as to the reasons for the slow progress of profit-sharing in the United States may well be quoted.¹⁴ "The material development of the country has been too rapid, the increase in the production of wealth too great, and the openings for men of ability, even without capital, too tempting, for many of the most active minds to concern themselves much with the improvements in industrial relations and the system of sharing wealth."

The Self-Governing Workshop.

Turning now to the third variation of purely capitalistic production we find there has always been, and in England and

¹⁴Co-partnership and Profit-sharing, Chap. vii, p. 146.

Scotland there would appear at the present time increasingly to be, a connection between the co-operative movement and socialistic theories.

"The first definite form taken by the aspiration for the democratic control of industry, as soon as the socialistic idea emerges out of the stage of Utopian Communism, seems always to have been that of a voluntary association of workmen themselves collectively owning the instruments of production, jointly directing their own industry, and sharing among themselves their common product. Such associations appear both to avoid many of the difficulties of the independent individual producer, and to offer an easy and logical alternative to the capitalist system. At one stroke the co-operating workers are emancipated from their subjection to an employer, and are able to enjoy the whole product of their labour."¹⁵

The idea of a self-governing workshop is a very simple one, and at first sight would seem of easy accomplishment. A number of skilled workers determine to co-operate together in producing a certain commodity. If capital is needed to start the business they club together and raise sufficient to start themselves in a small way. A set of rules is drawn up to govern their procedure, and one of their number is elected as manager, and generally two or three more of themselves as directors. Work is started, and the commodity is put on the market, the money realized from the sales of which is divided among the partners according to their contributions to the capital fund. Generally the participants agree to work for very small wages, in order to get the best possible return on their capital. The theory is excellent, but unfortunately the result is only too often, indeed it may even be said inevitably, a failure. The reasons for this, not only in Canada but all over the world, may be seen when a few examples of this form of enterprise are studied.

It is hard to say with complete accuracy the number of self-governing workshops that have been instituted at differ-

¹⁵The New Statesman, Feb. 14, 1914. Special Supplement on Co-operative Production and Profit-sharing.

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ent times in the Dominion, as these little experiments have been tried from time to time, and in different localities, and the record of them lost. As far as can be ascertained, however, the following examples are the only ones of which any trace can be found, and will exhibit many of the characteristic features which have marked the experiments in Europe.

The Knights of St. Crispin. This powerful but short-lived union among shoemakers flourished between 1867 and 1877 in the United States, and spread into Canada. Like the Grange it spread very fast, only to die down again with equal rapidity. It did not have very much influence in Canada; the number of lodges at most was seventeen in 1870, located in St. John, New Brunswick, Quebec, Toronto, Guelph, Hamilton, and other towns. "Co-operation" was one of its leading tenets, and many attempts were made, both in consumers' and producers' co-operation to carry out its principles.

In Canada the only attempt was at St. John, where in February, 1869, fifteen members of the order started a co-operative shoemaking factory. In six months they had 150 members, had hired a factory, and put in machinery. Stock was issued at \$50 a share, and was sold exclusively to members of the order. A capital of \$20,000 was raised, and the most up-to-date machinery installed. Dealers in Boston offered to purchase the entire output, but the members refused, seeking to enter the market themselves. The factory was successful for some time, but as the Order of St. Crispin declined, the enthusiasm for co-operative methods abated also, and after various vicissitudes, the factory became purely capitalistic in form.

The Ontario Co-operative Stone-cutters' Association, of Welland, was formed in June, 1878, for the purpose of taking contracts in masonry. This was at the time of the building of the Welland Canal, when a great deal of masonry work was being done in the district. This association took a contract to build a bridge and culvert on the canal, but was not able to carry the work through. The usual troubles broke out soon after operations were begun, and the association failed be-

cause, in the words of one of the members, "everybody wanted to be boss."

The Toronto Co-operative Cigar Manufacturing Association was started in January, 1879, and *The Toronto Co-Operative Union Baking and Milling Company* in April, 1884, but of neither of these ventures can any trace be found, although it is quite certain that they both failed.

In 1906 *The Berlin Co-operative Cigar Co.* was started on profit-sharing lines. Seven cigar makers invested \$200 each, all working together in the factory, and receiving the union rate of wages. Profits were divided equally, and there was one silent partner in the company, who held the position of foreman; each shareholder had one vote. Several more workmen were employed from time to time, and worked under union rules and wages. The company worked along with very fair success for some time, but sold out in 1907, owing to hard times.

In 1913 *The Imperial Bag-Holder Co.* of Lucknow, Ont., was started. Ten local men joined their small capital together, and bought the rights for manufacturing a patent bag-holder. Each man was required to subscribe a minimum of \$100, while \$500 was the maximum that could be subscribed by any one, in shares of \$100 each. Four directors received certain fees, and they chose one of themselves as manager, who received a small salary. The members received very low wages, and participated in the profits, no one being allowed to work in the shop who was not a subscriber.

Most unfortunately the scheme was not a success and after running for a couple of years, closed down in the spring of 1915. The reasons for the failure were the all too familiar ones; lack of experience in organizing the work of a factory, lack of capital, and perhaps the most important reason of all, lack of harmony among the members. For a short time enthusiasm and belief in the worth of the article being turned out kept the members together, but soon dissensions arose, and lack of confidence in the manager began to militate against success. The original manager was forced to resign, and another brought in from outside on a salary basis. But

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he, being dependent on the goodwill of the men under his direction for his position, was utterly unable to enforce discipline, and he very soon resigned, after which the factory closed down.

The Electric Car Manufacturing Company of Tillsonburg was formed of experienced and high-class men in this line who were employed at Picton, and became dissatisfied because the company they were working for would not let them buy stock in it. A company was formed in Tillsonburg, the workmen keeping the control of the business in their own hands and working in the shops themselves. Lack of adequate capital caused the failure of this venture, and the factory closed down on the outbreak of war in 1914.

In March, 1915, the *Co-operative Builders, Ltd.* was registered in Regina, Sask., as a co-operative company for the purpose of taking contracts on a sharing system. It was organized on a permanent basis, being capitalized at \$20,000, divided into 400 shares at \$50 each. The board of management was composed of twelve directors and a secretary, who received a salary as Secretary-Manager. The Articles of Association limited the voting power of shareholders and directors to one vote for each share, up to five votes, but no shareholder or director might control more than five votes, no matter what number of shares he might own or control. The profits of the company were divided as an annual dividend under the provisions of the Joint Stock Company Act.

The Secretary-Manager had control of the offices of the company, doing the estimating and tendering, but on each contract secured a foreman was appointed who, in all cases, was a director of the company. The company also bought and sold coal, wood and other articles which may be purchased in wholesale lots. The Trades Halls in Regina and Saskatoon were co-operatively built and are controlled by the trades unions.

Such is the rather melancholy story of the various attempts in Canada at realizing the ideals of the self-governing workshop. It would appear that only in a very few and rare cases has the system succeeded in any country or at any time.

France is the only country which shows success of any kind, and there are only a few and isolated cases. It will be recalled that it was the co-operative workshop that almost broke the hearts of that noble little band of Christian Socialists that gathered round Maurice and Kingsley sixty years ago in England.

The reasons for failure given in the *New Statesman* are identical with those found in the Canadian experiments,—lack of discipline, lack of capital, lack of knowledge in the running of a commercial enterprise, and a lack of knowledge of the market for which they have to produce.

The conclusions drawn from the history of the movement are not very encouraging for future experiments, and may be quoted in the words of the authors of the report:—

“We find that the lesson to be drawn from the whole experience of Associations of Producers in all their varieties, in all the different countries in which they have been tried, is that the self-governing workshop with all its derivatives, whatever may be its attractiveness to the manual worker, does not afford, alone and by itself, in mining or manufacturing industry, a practicable basis of organization.”

H. MICHELL.

METALS AND METALLURGICAL RESEARCH.

THE metals have played an important part in the development of civilization from the earliest historic times, down to the present. They have been a factor in determining the fortunes of war. The bronze armed warrior drove out the man of the stone axe and the iron equipped soldier in his turn subdued the bronze armed races. History tends to show that the claim "the strength of a nation can be judged by the success with which it practices the metallurgical arts" has a true foundation.

This is not, however, generally appreciated, and the Japanese in his worship of his sword and the sword-maker is an exception rather than the rule. The iron worker has held an honorable position as typifying honest toil rather than as holding a position in the fore-front of the civilization of his country.

To-day as never before the rulers of the nations recognize the part that the metals play in determining the fate of nations.

Great Britain was the greatest coal, iron, and general metal manufacturer of the 19th century and as such was secure in her premier position among the nations. Germany, however, early recognized the need of iron and steel for the furtherance of her scheme of conquest and as early as 1870 exacted from France as penalty of defeat what was then supposed to be practically all the iron fields of the Minette district of Alsace-Lorraine, the most important iron ore reserve in Europe.

With this resource and her own coal fields around Essen, Germany then proceeded to foster her steel industry, increasing her steel production in the quarter of a century immediately preceding the war almost twelve times from 1,600,000 metric tons in 1888 to 19,300,000 metric tons in 1913. During this time Great Britain's output increased only two and one-half times from 3,000,000 metric tons in

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1888 to 7,500,000 metric tons in 1913. That is, at the beginning of the quarter century preceding the war, Great Britain produced twice as much steel as Germany, while at the end of that period Germany's production was two and one-half times that of Great Britain. Fortunately the production of the United States increased almost thirteen times during this period from 2,400,000 metric tons to 31,000,000 metric tons.

It is interesting to note that preparation for hostilities was probably one of the chief causes of the activity of the German steel industry during the years immediately preceding the war. For instance, part of the energy of the iron manufacturer was directed to the building of the strategic railways on the East and West fronts that in many cases were required for no other purpose than that of the rapid mobilization of troops. The German steel industry also led in the production of war munitions, such as the manufacture of cannon. The Belgian forts were equipped with Krupp guns that could be blown to pieces by larger guns manufactured in the same works.

It might also be said that Germany's success in the manufacture of steel was an important factor in encouraging her to defy the other powers of Europe.

When war started the main strategy of Germany was to cripple France in her coal and iron resources and by the advance through Belgium into the northern part of France, Germany came into temporary possession of almost all the iron and coal of continental Europe. This would have been disastrous to French hopes if it had not been that Great Britain was ready, pressed though she was, to come to her assistance. We are only beginning to understand now how serious the situation was in the fall of 1914.

Germany was not so well situated in regard to some of the non-ferric metals, especially copper, as she was manufacturing only three per cent. of the world's copper before the war, while consuming thirty per cent. But even in this industry we can see her appreciation of the metals, as some of the copper mines were said to be operating at a loss before the

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war and were being kept open only by government aid. This was then said to be a splendid example of the paternality of the German government that wished to keep this industry on its feet so as not to have to throw so many miners and metallurgists out of employment. Now we are able to appreciate that there may have been other reasons for Germany's encouragement of this industry.

Since the war started needless to say all those closely in touch with military operations recognize the value of the metals as they are required for all parts of the huge army and navy machines. Never before has the need of replacing manual labour with machinery been so keenly felt in the industries.

Even an industry such as agriculture, often rather antagonistic to the industrial life of the country, is becoming more than ever dependent upon the metals and their successful manufacture into farm employment. As an example, when Great Britain was first confronted by the intensive submarine war the authorities recognized the need of developing her neglected agriculture resources, but they had no men to throw on the land. It was to the machine manufacturer that they appealed and thousands of farm tractors were rushed over from the workshops of America to take the place of the army of men that would otherwise have been required.

The great need of metals is to-day emphasized by the recognized necessity of steel for ship building. The iron manufacturing resources of the United States, great though they are and stimulated by high prices, are being taxed to the utmost. Government orders take first place and the civilian consumer has often to wait. The tendency is to curtail all uses of metal that are not of immediate national importance.

This growing importance of the metals is not only a war effect, for the annual production of iron and steel in the United States has regularly doubled every ten years for the last century, and the end is not yet. Only part of this increased production is due to the increase of the population of that country as the production of iron in the world has increased about fifty per cent. for each decade for the last century.

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This increase is followed by the other metals, copper having increased about six-fold in forty years and the latest addition to the family of common metals, namely, aluminum, showed a tenfold increase in the first decade of its use and a tenfold increase during the second decade. It is too early to say what the increase will be during the third, but it will be a very large one.

Not only is there a steady increase in the production and consumption of metals but in the variety of alloys or mixtures of metals employed in the industries. Every part of the modern complicated machines of industries, of railroad equipment, army equipment, naval force or flying machines, is studied in order to adapt to each the metal or alloy best fitted to give the greatest service.

This entails a knowledge of metallurgy undreamed of fifty years ago. Now we use iron alloyed with various proportions of one or several of the following elements: Carbon, silicon, manganese, copper, chromium, tungsten, molybdenum, nickel, cobalt, uranium, titanium, vanadium, zirconium, aluminum.

Many of these elements are so important in conferring valuable properties on steel that it has been suggested for each in its turn that a nation cut off from its use could not wage a modern war. This claim has been made in technical and popular literature for nickel and it is only a short time ago that the Ontario people and press were much exercised over the chance that some of the nickel of Canada was finding its way to Germany. Chromium is as essential as nickel in manufacturing armour plates and projectiles.

A strong claim has been made for the vital importance of tungsten. This metal is used in the production of high speed steels and it has been claimed that if this metal could not be obtained the ability of the workshop to produce shells and other war materials would be reduced to a fraction of their present capacity due to the fact that the ordinary carbon steel cuts so slowly. Manganese is another metal almost essential to the manufacture of steel, and America is feeling a shortage of this metal at the present time.

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The metallurgy of to-day is becoming a well-developed science, while only fifty years ago it could be considered an art. The properties of metals are determined by the chemist and metallographist with the assistance of physical testing laboratories rather than, as formerly, by the artisan. It is therefore to the trained chemist and metallurgist that we look for development in the production and use of the metals. Research of an industrial and scientific nature is becoming a more important factor.

This work has a bearing on the problem of the shortage of labor. In connection with the production of the metals themselves the tendency is to develop processes for the treatment of ores that will require few men to operate them. We now have large mills crushing and concentrating ten to twenty thousand tons of ore per day, operated by a mere handful of men.

Research also tends towards the elimination of waste. Twenty years ago most of the concentrating and metallurgical plants would have thought they were doing good work if they recovered 70% of the metals in an ore, now 90 and 95% would be expected and obtained. There has also been a development in the method of treating refractory ores containing a mixture of several metals. A few years ago the smelter would have been content to treat the ore for the recovery of one or two of the metals and to let the others go to waste. The modern metallurgist is not satisfied unless he is extracting and marketing all the metals in the ores. Much has been done in this line but there is still much to do though each year as it passes sees important gains made.

The war has only intensified the need for these economies and emphasized the need for all the metals we can produce. It also shows the necessity of a country adapting itself to its own resources. This is forcing a greater development in the science and industry of metallurgy than that experienced before the war.

On account of the closing of certain trade routes and the shortage of shipping facilities, America is thrown largely on her own resources. No longer can she depend on the sulphur

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from the pyrites of Spain or on the manganese from Russia and India, nor altogether on the chromium of New Caledonia or Africa, or the tungsten of India. The metallurgists of America can and are replacing these ores by intensive search into the mineral resources of the country and by developing deposits formerly considered unworkable. New metals are also being developed and new alloys manufactured.

What is Canada's part in this work? We who are sending 500,000 men to France are one of the principal metal producing nations of the world and have a responsibility in regard to this development in metallurgy and the adapting of our metal resources to war requirements.

It is only within the last fifteen or twenty years that Canada had been actively developing her mineral sources and manufacturing metals, but she already takes an important place in the production of iron and steel, copper, lead, aluminum, and is the fourth country in order of gold production. This country also produces one-eighth of the world's silver, one-quarter of all the arsenic consumed on this continent, and has the leading place in the production of asbestos, nickel, and cobalt. Only within the last two years under stress of war conditions metallurgical researchers have added metallic zinc and metallic magnesium to the list of her products.

The main object at the present time must be the intensive production of those metals of prime importance for war purposes, but almost all of the metals mentioned come under this head. Steel, formerly so largely used for structural purposes, is in greater demand for war munitions and ships, copper for brasses, lead for munitions rather than paint, aluminum for army equipment and flying machines, and silver, generally considered as a luxury, is in greater demand than ever for the manufacture of currency. Canada supplies the arsenic for the insecticide requirement of over 25,000,000 people. Nickel is primarily a war metal, and cobalt, although used before the war practically altogether in the ceramic industry, is now largely consumed as an ingredient of high speed steel and in the manufacture of the new tool metal, stellite, used largely for the turning of shells.

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The mining and metal production of Canada will be an important factor in post-war conditions, as an abundance of metals will be required during the building up stage, and with the influx of labor Canada should be able to supply these from her developed and undeveloped resources.

S. F. KIRKPATRICK.

THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT UKRAINE IN THE LIGHT OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND FOLK-LORE.*

WHERE an antiquity, an ancient human existence, has left documents and some clue, however faint, to its old form of life, one can re-create, as from the papyrus and the sarcophagi of Egypt, a people and in our imagination the dead past lives again.

But when we leave Egypt with her pyramids and think upon "the forgotten kingdom of Ukraine" we may dream above her wild steppes, above the yellow waves of the Dnieper and ask ourselves—in vain—what was happening in this land in the same period, when Egypt's culture reached its highest mark. The Ukraine is silent as its own grave-hills, with which its expanse is covered. The ancient Ukrainians did not leave pyramids, nor records on papyrus, nor granite sarcophagi. Yet if we would know their past they too can be made to speak with lips of dust.

Archaeologists have excavated practically all of the grave-hills left unviolated by robbers and they have found rooms in the higher parts of the barrows. A skeleton of a man would be lying in the funeral chamber; beside it bones of horses, the fragments of saddles, harness with golden ornaments, earthen and golden vessels, rings, necklaces of precious stones. In the southern Ukraine, in the Zaporogian steppes, grave-hills have been excavated which disclosed to view articles made in Greece hundreds of years before Christ.

Herodotus, the first Greek historian known to us (490 B.C.), describes these people, whose bones we have now disinterred, and calls them Scythes (Scythians)* He says that

*This article is an English revision by Florence Randal Livesay of notes by her fellow-countryman, Mr. Paul Crath. Mrs. Livesay is the author of 'Songs of Ukrانيا,' for which Mr. Crath wrote the preface.

*The word Scythian was a collective name of many tribes of Iranian immigrants, given the name of the leading tribes. In the fourth and

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they were nomads, most of their life probably being spent in the saddle. Excelling as archers, they wandered over the wild steppes of the Southern Ukraine a people without any knowledge of writing.

Digging deeper in the Ukrainian grave-hills archaeologists found still another evidence of burial. Here there was but one skeleton with fragments of stone weapons. This excavation showed that before the Scythian age another people, less civilized than the Scythes, had existed—"the man of the stone age," as he has been found in other lands. And this is all that the grave-hills can tell us.

And that is so little! We want to know—we are eager to know—what the ancient Ukrainian was thinking, what was

third centuries before Christ the supremacy passed to the tribe of Sauro-motes or Sarmates, all the tribes being called by that name. Before the beginning of the Christian era these nomads were spoken of as Allons. There can be no doubt that among these Iranians were ancestors of the Slav race and Ukrainians in particular. In the view of history the Ukrainians appeared in the fourth century A.D., known to the Greeks as Antes.† The Byzantine historian Jordan writes of Antes and Slavs who waged war with Vinitar, king of the Goths. He showed that these Antes had possessed the area from the Dniester river to the Sea of Azov. (See History of Ukraina by Prof. M. Hrushevsky, pp. 26-32).

†Under the name Ruthenians the Antes became known in Gaul where a tribe of Antes with other invaders came in the era of "the great migration of nations." The name "Russ" appeared in the Ninth and Tenth centuries as the name of the Dukedom of Kiev (correct pronunciation Kiyeev) or as the name of an army of mercenaries under the Dukes of Kiev. In the twelfth century, A.D., the name Russichi is used for all Ukrainian tribes. But beside "Russ" must be set the name of "Ukraina" also. After the Tartar invasion in the thirteenth century A.D. the independent political life of the great kingdom of Russ was lost, and it became a part of the Great Dukedom of Lithuania, then a part of Poland, being dependent on the Polish crown more in name than in reality. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the inhabitants of Ukraina were known to the world as Chercassians or Cossacks, although the Poles still called them Russ. At the present time only the Ukrainian tribes of the Carpathian region call themselves Russini. The name Russ was transferred to the north, to the Tzardom of Moscow—hence Russia. The modern Antes call themselves Ukrainians, and their land from the San river to the Caucasus they call by the poetical name of Ukraina.

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his conception of the universe, whom did he worship? But here the grave-hills are silent. It is true that upon some graves granite figures of Scythian workmanship were found, known as "Old Women." They were simply-sculptured images of men, sometimes six feet tall, placed on top or on the side of the grave-hill. But there is no evidence at all that these figures were images of some Scythian god. Rather would such seem to be the gravestones of buried chieftains. But, owing to the fact that these "Old Women" were found only in the south-eastern part of the Ukraine—on the steppes where in the twelfth century Polovtzi (Mongolian tribes) appeared, and, in the thirteenth century, Tartars—some have thought that these figures were placed there by Mongolians, and are their gods. This theory, however, is not generally accepted.

Herodotus tells us that a Scythian chieftain, when Darius invaded the Ukraine, sent a notice to the latter telling him that he and his army should perish if the king attempted to enter "the land of the ancestors' graves." This is another proof that in the time of the Greek historian Scytho-Iranian tribes had the cult of ancestors and believed in a future life.*

*There were probably three great waves of Aryan migration; those whose deity was Deus (Celts); those who worshipped Got (Teutons), and those whose God was Boh (Slavs).

The ancient Ukrainians believed in life after death; and the dead might appear among men; hence it was needful to conduct funerals with all possible pomp to merit the goodwill of the dead and prevent his evil influence should he wish to exert it. In these burials all kinds of domestic utensils and slain animals were placed with the body; it often occurred that a man's widow slew herself on the grave-hill. An Arabian traveller describes a funeral in the Ukraine which he witnessed in 922: The dead man was clothed richly, placed in a boat, with tent-canopy; beside him were his weapons and many kinds of food and drink. They asked if any of his slave maidens would die with him, to live with him and the souls of ancestors in a beautiful green orchard in Paradise. One of the maidens agreed to this, and she was slain on the day of the funeral and placed beside the man's corpse. They threw into the boat two horses, two cows, a dog, a rooster and a hen, cut in pieces. Then these all were burned and a grave-hill heaped over the spot.—Prof. Hrushevsky: *The History of Ukraina*.

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The man of the stone age in the Ukraine left very few clues to his mode of life—some flint spears and roughly-made earthen vessels only. Probably he was a type of the primary inhabitants of Europe, like the Finns. What happened to this people in the Ukraine is unknown. But it is plain that from Asia, from Ariastan, (Iran) another race followed, who heaped their grave-hills upon the graves of the primeval inhabitants. Undoubtedly the Antes were a tribe of that great Iranian invasion. Ariastan not only begot Ukrainians and all European nations, but it was the cradle of Persians and Hindus as well.

The art of writing was introduced into the Ukraine by Greek missionaries in the tenth century, but for long, even after their conversion to Christianity, it was unknown to ancient Ukrainians. The priests of the tenth century knew how to write with the pen, but Vikings used palm and fingers dipped in ink as their signature to state documents. This was called “piaterytzia.”

That is why there are no written documents of this ancient people extant. Even at the time of the Viking Volodimir and the conversion of his men no written record was made of their needs. The oldest relic of Ukrainian literature is “The Ballad of Prince Ehor’s Expedition”—literally, “the Word about Ehor’s army.” This dates from the twelfth century and was probably written by a survivor of that unhappy campaign. Another very old document is “The Chronicles of Nestor,” the Monk of Kiev, but it was composed subsequently. From both of these productions we get evidences of the Ukrainian heathen religion or practices, but so slight are these references that they do not help us very much.

It is indeed odd to be able to say that the ignorance of the people saved for the scholars, in the oral literature of the folk, all the Ukrainian past.

Owing to the small attention given by the Greek Catholic and Uniat priests towards the education of the people in Christian doctrine, the ancient pagan soul is hidden under the thin veneer of Christianity. Folk-lorists and philologists visited villages to collect the customs and folk-songs, and in this way

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the ancient Ukrainian faith is resurrected in the intellectual treasure of the villagers.

From Nestor's Chronicles we can imagine life in the Ukraine as far back as the ninth century A.D. Nestor gives us a description of several Slavic (Antes) tribes which were dwelling between the Dnieper and the Baltic. He calls the Ukrainians "Poliane," that is, a people living amid fields. (The name "Ukraine" appears first in the Ukrainian Chronicles of the twelfth century).

The main occupation of the Poliane was agriculture, but with it went bee-keeping and hunting. They lived in villages or strongholds—"horods"—along the banks of the Dnieper and its tributary streams.

The "Chronicle" says that in the time of the Viking Volodimir there was standing in Kiev an image of Perun, the thunder god. And from the "Ballad of Ihor's Expedition," from folk-legends, tales and songs we find that before the Ukrainians became Christians they had some gods and goddesses and an entire religious cult. That faith was in complete harmony with the phenomena of their nature.

The joyful shining sun—Sonetchko—the ancient Ukrainians imagined as a young and beautiful girl-goddess—Lada, goddess of love and life. Thunder was the noise made by the wheels of the Thunder-God, who was the wooer of the Sun-Goddess. The name of the Thunder-God is accepted by Polish and Russian scholars as Perun. But it is possible that they are mistaken. Perun is the name of the Polish Thunder-God, as Perkun is of the Lithuanian one. At the present time some of the people of Poland call a thunder-bolt "Perun." But in the Ukraine, except in the Polonized south-western Ukrainian provinces, the word "perun" is not used at all. Nestor alone left us that word, giving the name to the local god, that of Kiev.

The real Ukrainian Thunder-God was called Yoor*—and by this he is widely known in the Ukraine. There it is common

*Many proper nouns and words are derived from Yoor: Yaroslav, the glory of Yar; Yaropolk, Yar's people; the Muscovite god of summer was Yarilo.

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to replace the Christian name of “George” by “Yoor.” No philological relation between the two words can be traced.

That was simply a trick of the Greek-Orthodox priests. Not being powerful enough to expel the influence of the pagan god Yoor, the priest told his people that George was identical with it, the legends of one appertaining to the other. The Christian legend says that St. George saved a princess from the claws of a dragon, while the Ukrainian myth relates that the evil god of Frost, a dragon, stole the beautiful goddess Lada (from the word ‘ladna’ beautiful) and hid her in his domain of eternal cold. Being without sun, men were left in the clutches of Marina, the goddess of winter. Then the god of thunder, Yoor, went to rescue his beloved; he killed Koschey and turned back to Ukraina, carrying Lada with him. The latter expelled Marina by her smile, and all became again warm and bright for mankind, in fellowship with his beneficent god.

From the cry of Yaroslavna in “Ihor’s Expedition” we learn that the god of wind was ‘Strib-boh’, and winds are called ‘The grandsons of Strib-boh’ (Boh, god; derived from the Iranian divinity Baga; strib, from stribaty, to jump). The god of the heavens was Svareeh—Fire was Svarozhieh, the son of Svareeh. Wolos, wooly one, was the god of cattle. The flaming sun of summer had still another name, that of Hors. This word is only found in the “Ballad” above mentioned, and seems to have been borrowed by the Ukrainians from Egypt’s god Horus. The Ukrainian Cupid was Lel, the son of Lada.

The people of those days imagined the world surrounding them to be filled by every kind of spirit and chort. (The latter is not exactly a devil, but is rather a little demon of the swamps or hidden places)—Lisowiks, spirits of the wood, wodianiks, of water; russalkas, the souls of drowned girls or children; opirs, vampires; vovkoolaks, men who can change themselves into a wolf’s image; widmas and widmaks, witches and warlocks; nitchkas, the shadows of night; Wey, the king of ghosts and other “unclean powers”—all in fact that the fantasy of those dark ages could conjure up. But all these held no relation to the four great gods, Yoor and Lada—Kosh-

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chey† and Marina. Man's very life depended on their vagaries. The first wished all to be under the power of eternal spring, swayed by love, multiplying. Not so the dark forces who tried to freeze the world and kill all life on the globe.

With that intent Koshchey tried always to capture Lada and hide her far away from the earth; he tried to prevent her helping the growth of vegetation by means of her warmth and light. So they imagined the changes of the seasons. Yoор and Lada were living with them in spring and summer; in autumn Koshchey appeared with the Witch Marina; Koshchey by subtlety killed Yoор and carried off Lada to his ice-castle, leaving Marina in charge of the world. The rivers and lakes froze, leaves fell from the trees, the birds fled to Earey or Wirey (a legendary land of the South, probably Egypt), and the old woman, Winter, tried to destroy all mankind. Men, like motherless children, cowered in their huts.

But the wolf with silver hair—probably the god of the moon—picked up the mangled body of Yoор, put him together, sprinkled him with the water of healing (snow water) as in the Russian Skazkas, and then with the water of life (rain)—and the god of thunder arose.

Alive again, Yoор sat on the back of the wolf and went to the rescue of Lada. The return of spring was the proof that Yoор had brought Lada back again to the Ukraine. As children we all were told this tale. In the long winter evenings our grandmother narrated the story of Ivan the Prince and the beautiful Tzarivna. The dragon killed the prince, the wolf healed Ivan, the Tzarivna or Korolivna was saved—how clear is all this in our memory! This is now but a tale, but in reality it was a myth of the ancient Ukrainians, as we have tried to show. From generation to generation it was handed down, and now, though the names of the heroes are changed, the essential features remain.

†The Muscovite Koshchey, fleshless; the Ukrainian name is lost or perhaps survives in Moroz, the Frost.

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The ancient Scandinavians had a faith somewhat akin; their beautiful tales anent their gods and goddesses much resemble those of Ukraine.

Except for the image of Perun, in Kiev, there is no evidence that the ancient Ukrainians worshipped idols. But they worshipped sacred trees. In an ancient Kolada or Christmas song we read: "In the forest under the oak tree seeds are planted; youths and maidens are seated on the seeds and they are singing a hymn—"Ko Ladi" (to Lada). Somewhere a fire is burning under the cattle, and the Old Man (priest) sharpens a knife to kill a goat." Here is pictured a pagan Ukrainian offering.

The institution of the priesthood probably existed; but not in a highly developed form. A philological interest attaches to the Ukrainian word for priest—"Zhretz", which means "devourer." Probably sacrificial offerings were deeply rooted as a custom in ancient Ukraine. Even in these days the eagerness of the people to make every kind of food-offering to Christian priests is very noticeable.

So universally accepted was 'black art' that Christian priests time after time sought to play the role of magician. They were called by the peasants to expel "chorts" from their huts; to sprinkle the fields in drought; to show the hem of the sacramental cape to a sick man; to extinguish fire by holding up icons or images of the saints.

The present conception of the Greek-Orthodox and Uniat Ukrainians as to the "Four Last Things" is not of Ukrainian origin. It is the Egyptian story of the Judgment of Osiris worked over and mingled with the Hebrew eschatology. The Ukrainian ancient faith had in itself the seeds of conception of good and evil, but not so markedly as in the Persian religion, where it was elaborated in the myth of the struggle between Ormuzd and Ariman.

MRS. LIVESAY.

Winnipeg, Man.

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REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA.

After a period, all too brief, of admiration for the completeness and good order with which a great revolution was carried out in Russia, the world is now looking on with amazement at the spectacle it offers and trying to understand the causes and conditions which have practically removed the Colossus of Europe from the list of belligerents for the time being at least and reduced it to a state of helpless and fragmentary confusion. For after all the immediate occasion of the war was the threat to Russia contained in Austria's advance on Servia. Though all the Allies were alike menaced--and indeed all the world--by the ambitious designs of Germany, the first move was made against Russia. And now the men who have placed themselves in authority there enter into separate negotiations with the enemy and call upon their Allies to make peace on terms which would go a long way to make the great efforts and sacrifices of the last three years useless. It may not turn out as bad as it looks at present, but certainly even her mad Pauls and Peters with their sudden changes of policy never led Russia into such peril of her national existence as her revolutionary Councils of Workmen, Soldiers and Peasants have done.

One cause of the collapse is plain enough. In spite of some very brilliant offensives and many local victories, the Russian campaigns have regularly ended in defeat. The Russian armies have suffered severe reverses, commencing with the tremendous rout of Tannenberg. One can hardly place the blame on the Russian soldiers. Till the revolution began to undermine military discipline, they had fought with heroic courage in long and terrible retreats like that from the Donajetz to Warsaw, under all the difficulties too created by an equipment seriously inferior to that of their foe and a leadership which though it was not wanting in brilliancy and skill was recognizably inferior in sagacity, caution and forethought.

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to that of Hindenburg, Ludendorf and Mackensen. It is no wonder if their enthusiasm for "Holy Russia" and her cause has been damped in a struggle which the inefficiency of the old régime had made an unequal one. But splendid endurance under trying reverses and retreats is almost a tradition in the history of the Russian army and perhaps, worse than all the defects of supply and munitions, was the growing doubt in the heart of the nation as to the capacity and good faith of the circle surrounding and controlling the Czar. The stories of his weakness and credulity were not new to the Russian people, but no doubt they began to make a deeper impression in days of retreat and disaster. All Russia latterly seems to have felt that there was neither the energy nor the will in those that ruled them to carry the nation successfully through the conflict. All parties and classes, therefore, nobles, landowners, bourgeoisie, peasants and workmen united to make the first revolution a success. The first revolutionary government was under the leadership of constitutional Democrats or Liberals like Miljukoff and Guchkoff, and contained a strong representation of the great landed and industrial interests as well as some Socialists like Kerensky who belonged to the Menscheviki or moderate group of the Social Revolutionaries. The generals and soldiers adhered to the revolution with apparent readiness and goodwill. Great praise at that time also was given to the Socialist factions for what seemed to be their frank and sincere support of the new Provisional Government. "It was they," said Kerensky in one of his speeches at this period, "who fought our battles in the streets. Kerensky himself, an eloquent young lawyer who had made a great reputation by his defence of the workmen's conduct during a turbulent strike, was the chief link between the Socialistic and non-Socialistic parties.

But it was soon seen that the support given to the new Government was neither hearty nor sincere on the part of the extreme factions or Bolsheviks, nor was it complete nor without considerable reservation on the part of the Socialist parties in general. The Council of Workmen and Soldiers, which with Tcheidse as its head had at once established itself as the

guardian of Socialist interests, never intended that the Provisional Government should be much more than the instrument of their policies. They had united with the Constitutionalists and Moderates of the bourgeoisie to overthrow the inefficient and corrupt old régime, but the differences between them were fundamental. The Constitutionalists had in view a democratic constitution for Russia similar to that of Britain or France, with special arrangements for the settlement of the land question. They were resolved also to keep Russia in line with her Allies in the war. The aim of the Bolsheviks, on the other hand, the extreme group in the Council, was a pure class rule of working men with elimination of the economic and capitalistic elements that characterize what they call bourgeois civilization, and as a first logical step in that direction they wanted a Socialist peace, a peace, that is, which would in itself be a condemnation and disclaimer of the bourgeois conception of the State or nation and the interests involved in it. This would be a blow to what they call imperialistic interests and a step on the road to that dismemberment of the modern State into its original fragments and localized interests in which they claim to see the only conditions of a universal peace. There may be some advances to be made along this road with due caution—they have already been made in the British Empire—but how a reversion to something like the fragmentary political condition of Europe in the 13th or 14th century which produced the incessant wars of that period would result in a civilization free from the evils of conflict and competition is clear only to the Bolshevik dreamer. It would be more likely to make hot-beds of dissension like the Balkans all over Europe. Even under a working man's civilization. For I have not seen any signs that the working man is less inclined to an energetic pursuit of his interests, or is less ready to use force for that purpose, or is more likely to follow a law of pure brotherly love, than any other class. The Bolsheviks themselves have certainly not depended on universal suffrage for their exaltation to power and have been trying in spite of their fine theories to extend their authority over the Ukraine and the Cossack lands by sheer force of arms. They have practi-

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cally suppressed or muzzled all the organs of public opinion that are not of their own political colour. The famous Petrograd press has almost ceased to exist. And after all, even if they represented all the working men of Russia, they would represent only a fifth of its population. Is their position morally so much better than that of the despotism of the Junker aristocracy and the bureaucracy of Prussia?

Besides the extreme or Bolsheviki factions in the Council of Workmen and Soldiers there was a large body of more moderate Socialists who have hesitated and vacillated greatly in their policy, at one time supporting insidious measures against the authority of the Provincial Government established by the first revolution and at another time rallying to its support when their fear of growing disorder became greater than their distrust of reactionary tendencies in the Government. N. C. Tcheidse has been the wary and discreet leader of the Council all through this tumultuous period. He belongs to the Bolsheviki party but has always worked quietly behind the scenes, letting Lenine and others do the front stage work. A cool-headed deep plotter, to judge from his speeches and wary management of the Bolsheviki cause. The Labour associations of Russia are all strict class Socialists; the class-conflict as they call it is their constant watchword and the power of the Council of Workmen and Soldiers was based on an extensive Socialist conspiracy which had existed under the old régime. From the beginning it seems to have been quite confident that it could in combination with the revolted Petrograd regiments control the Provisional Government or overthrow it if it proved intractable. It was able therefore in a great measure to dictate the policy of the Government. The doubtful point was the adhesion of the armies and here too it held the trump card in the promise of immediate peace which it gave the war weary soldiers.

The new Government had not been long in power when the Council encouraged or connived at riotous outbreaks on the part of the extreme radicals headed by Lenine who paraded the streets calling for a Commune and immediate peace. The Government took a firm stand on this question, however, and on

May 1 sent an official note to the Allies declaring that it was "the nation's determination to bring the world war to a decisive victory" and that its intention was "to maintain a strict regard for its engagements with the Allies." There were stormy all-night sittings of the Council over that action of the Government and fierce denunciations of Miljukoff and Guchkoff, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and War, from the extreme sections of the Council. Not a few speakers urged caution, however, before adopting any extreme measures such as removing the Government. "The finances were bad," said one speaker, "and the question of supplies critical." The wary Tscheidse contented himself with declaring the Government's announcement ambiguous as to its war aims and called on it to proclaim at once a policy of peace without annexations, contributions or indemnities. It was a policy which had some advantages for Russia as well as Germany, for Russia had devastated parts of East Prussia and large slices of her territory were already in the clutch of Germany. But its chief attraction in the eyes of the Social Revolutionaries was that in its details it struck a blow at the bourgeois conception of the State and national interests and would be a triumph for international Socialism. For it was to be effected according to Tscheidse by calling on "the proletariat classes to force their Governments to agree to this policy." The Council broke up without a definite resolution, but the street rioting was allowed to continue.

Efforts were being made in various quarters at this time to give the Provisional Government a much needed support. Samuel Gompers, as head of the American Federation of Labour, sent a cable to the Committee of the Council of Workmen and Soldiers appealing for unity of action and warning against "insidious German propagagda for a peace favourable to Prussian militarism." A little later President Wilson sent a strong clear note to the Russian Government to the same effect. An extraordinary session of the Duma—which claimed to be the only legally constituted authority now left in Russia—was also held on May 10th and declared itself in favour of "bringing the war to a successful termination . . . in concert with the

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Allies of Russia." The All-Russian Council of Peasant Delegates also at this time passed a strong resolution in favour of a vigorous prosecution of the war and against a separate peace.

The real danger, however, lay elsewhere. Had the new Government effective control of the armies and what was their attitude towards the divided authority in Petrograd? Guchkoff, the Minister of War, was already issuing notes complaining of the increasing lack of discipline in the army and of the subversive propaganda carried on there. The Council of Workmen and Soldiers was sufficiently alive to the danger of weakening the front to send a proclamation to the armies calling on them "not to renounce the offensive or fraternize." But all the same it persisted steadily in its policy of weakening the authority of the Government in favour of its own irregular and irresponsible control. It demanded that General Korniloff, the Commandant of the garrison, should submit all orders to it for confirmation. On the other side it sent an appeal to the Socialists of Germany and Austria not to allow their Governments to take advantage of the confusion in Russia. It declared it was "well aware that a separate peace would free the hands of the Austro-German alliance and be a betrayal of the cause of democracy and of labour in all countries." "You cannot allow your Governments taking advantage of the joy evoked in the Russian army by liberty and fraternity, to hurl their troops on to the western front, in the first place in order to crush France and then to dash on Russia and finally crush you as well as the international proletariat in the grip of imperialism."

Tcheidse was probably well aware of the small value such moral appeals would have but they served him as a sort of cover for the next decisive step in the policy he was pursuing of undermining all authority except that of the Socialist Councils. Miljukoff and Guchkoff had been forced to resign and a new Cabinet had been formed (May 16) with Kerensky—who was still counted as a Socialist—as Minister of War. On May 27 the Council got the new Government to publish those extraordinary regulations for the army which at once loosened all

bands of discipline and authority. Soldiers were given all the rights of citizens in ordinary life, could speak, write and publish as they like and receive printed matter without censorship, could quit barracks or warships when they like when not actually on duty; the internal government of regiments and ships was put into the hands of elective committees in which not more than one-fifth could be officers, all punishments were abolished except after a formal trial, all formulas of giving and acknowledging orders, and all customary salutes. Excellent preparations certainly for free Socialist propaganda but rather dangerous for armies that had to keep the well disciplined soldiers of Hindenburg and Von Below in check. The immediate result of the Regulation was the appearance of a congress of soldier delegates from the front declaring it to be the opinion of the army that it was indispensable to put an end to the war and conclude peace without annexations or indemnities. But they insisted that the Russian front must be maintained and provided with munitions. On June 1 the Council of Workmen and Soldiers gave another decided demonstration of their power by taking the control of the Kronstadt fortress from the Government. It was a precaution against what the Socialists called counter-revolution. Even Kerensky was becoming suspect to the extreme Bolshevik groups. In the *Arbetaren*, a Swedish Socialist paper of New York, I read a letter about this period from a Finnish Socialist, Alan Wallenius, one of those extreme men who come to the United States for a year or two like Trotzky and spend most of their time and energy in recruiting amongst their Swedish, Finnish or Russian countrymen for what they call the class-conflict and in fomenting distrust of the more reasonable constitutional aims and measures which characterize the Labour movement in America and Britain. The letter is written from Abo in Finland and sums up the situation as he and his Bolshevik friends saw it frankly enough:

The Provisional Government has still some life in it supported by the bourgeoisie and latterly by the Cossacks, who naturally are for war. But the opposition is growing stronger every day in spite of the Labour element in it, Tseretelli, Sko-

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beleff, Kerensky and others. To-day I had the pleasure of taking part in a demonstration of soldiers and workmen here in Abo. We passed a resolution in favour of peace, against counter-revolution, against the capitalist ministers in the government. It was an uncompromising labour class platform. And the great thing was that similar demonstrations are taking place throughout the whole mighty Russian kingdom.

Kerensky is the man who contributed most to the success of the revolution. He *was* a Socialist. So long as he was Minister of Justice. He still belongs formally to the Populist group but has turned bourgeois entirely. . . . Tcheidse is the real leader of the Russian social democracy, one who does not let himself get talked about but works in quiet. Kerensky works with all the power he has—and it is not little—for war. But he has lost all clear lines. Ambition rules in him and perhaps he dreams as some think of becoming a Napoleon. He has ability but the Russian working men with Lenin at their head have forces within them to frustrate such attempts. His own group is beginning to revolt against him also.

There is a big gulf between the Menscheviki or minimalist and the Bolsheviks or maximalists, all the difference that there is between the old international type like Scheidemann and the type of Liebknecht. The peace question is the apple of discord between them. The Bolsheviks wish an immediate peace and a complete revolution all over the world against the oppression of capital. The Menscheviki are inclined to make compromises and arrangements with the existing social condition. They are nationalists in sentiment while the others are internationalist. . . . Plechanov, Krapotkin and others have done good work for the revolution in their day but now at the decisive moment they have become nationalists and would have us co-operate with this bourgeois régime. All honour and thanks to them for what they have done but bitter opposition now to their efforts to lead the working class into a path which means the swamping of our class conflict.

Our chief difficulty is that we have no control of the industrial organization and the credit it requires. We have all the other conditions to complete a socialist revolution but we cannot control industry and capital here. If capital withdraws itself from us just now we should have great difficulties. But perhaps we shall be able to overcome them.

Our position towards the war must soon be decided. One possibility is to stand by the entente against Germany. That is what Kerensky is fighting for. Another possibility is a separate peace. A third possibility is that suggested in a resolution for-

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warded to us the other day from several of the regiments in this district, to keep the Russian army armed not for battle with any nation but to fight for a world-revolution against all the imperialistic governments, whether French, British or German. For the workmen's cause against the capitalist pack the world over.

That is a frank and clear statement of how the Bolsheviki looked on the situation in July. Of course the writer takes little or no note of the forces against him, of the somewhat different disposition of the peasant farmers, of the tradesmen of Russia, of the Cossack regions, of the Southwest, where they feel more the struggle between the Slav and the Teuton, and the masses of Russians in whom the national sentiment of a "Holy Russia" and its destiny is not yet extinct. It is unlikely that a national assembly fairly elected would give the Bolsheviki a majority. But the fact remains that the Revolution has gone precisely in the way which Wallenius predicted it would do. The Bolsheviki control is founded mainly on extensive organizations of armed workmen and the co-operation of large parts of the northern armies that have thrown off military discipline. But the desire of peace, the fear of a counter-revolution that might bring back elements of the old régime and the small peasants' anxiety for a distribution of the land count also for something in the power they wield.

In June the orderly and stable elements in Russia held demonstrations to strengthen the hands of the Government against the extremists. The new General Union of industrial, commercial and banking institutions met and passed a resolution to be forwarded to the Allies in favour of prosecuting the war and emphatically rejecting the idea of a separate peace. About the same time the Congress of Peasant Farmers met to discuss the situation. The resolution it adopted showed a certain sympathy with Techeidse's programme in calling for "an equitable peace without humiliating annexation or indemnity and appealing to the peasants of all countries to force their Governments to renounce such annexations and indemnities, but it was firm in calling on the army to submit itself to

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discipline and continue to struggle energetically "for the safety of the patrimony of the Russian people," and it granted its benediction to the cause for which they were fighting, for which so much blood had been shed. Evidently the ideal of Holy Russia and the sentiment of national destiny were still alive in the hearts of the agriculturists. A few days later President Wilson's note was published in Russia and about the same time the American mission headed by Mr. Root reached Petrograd (June 13). Mr. Root's address expressed the warmest sympathy for "Russia's new found freedom," and conveyed "a greeting of sympathy, friendship, brotherhood, godspeed from the American democracy to the domaocracy of Russia." It told them that "we are going to fight, for your freedom equally with our own, and we ask you to fight for our freedom equally with yours." The letter of credentials which the Mission brought with it from President Wilson offered every co-operation and aid to Russia in the prosecution of the war "against the German autocracy which is to-day the gravest menace to all democratic Governments." The President's own note which had been published a few days before represented the formal reply of the Allies to the Russian request for a definition of their aims. It dwelt on the fact that the ambitious intrigues and power of the German autocracy had become incompatible with the peace and liberty of the world. It said further:

We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government, and the undictated development of all peoples and every feature of the settlement that concludes this war must be conceived and executed for that purpose. Wrongs must first be righted, and then adequate safeguards must be created to prevent their being committed again. We ought not to consider remedies merely because they have a pleasing and sonorous sound. Practical questions can be settled only by practical means. Phrases will not accomplish the result. Effective readjustments will, and whatever readjustments are necessary must be made.

But they must follow a principle, and that principle is plain. No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live. No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing those who inhabit it a fair chance of

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life and liberty. No indemnities must be insisted on except those that constitute payment for manifest wrongs done. . . .

And then the free peoples of the world must draw together in some common covenant, some genuine and practical co-operation that will in effect combine their force to secure peace and justice in the dealings of nations with one another. . . .

Mr. Root when he returned to America expressed himself as much impressed by what he saw of the orderliness of the Russian people under revolution and even declared it to be greater than what had prevailed in the United States during the same period. Dr. John R. Mott, a member of the Mission, speaking (Dec. 19) in Toronto, was highly optimistic and declared that the Bolsheviki did not represent the masses of Russia at all and placed most of the unrest and agitation to the account of German propaganda which he said was working there day and night.

But the Russians are both a naïve and a subtle people, hard to understand. Of course the Provisional Government were delighted with the American notes and addresses which undoubtedly did something to strengthen them at this period. But the official organ of the Workmen's and Soldiers' aouncil, the *Izvestia*, showed no inclination to respond to the American advances and said coldly that President Wilson was mistaken if he thought his ideas could find "a reception in the hearts of a revolutionary people." The only road to a universal peace, it declared, "lay through a united struggle of the labouring classes with the 'imperialists' of the world." What the Bolsheviki wanted was a Socialist peace, a Socialist conference at Stockholm laying down Socialist conditions for all the bellicose countries. The Bolsheviki have evidently come to regard hand workers as the only class in the world with any rights at all, all others are imperialists, bourgeois, for the two terms are synonymous with them, people, that is, who believe that civilization progresses through forms of high national or State development. The Bolsheviki would reduce all to low class communisite provinces. Between their ideal and the German's exaggerated idea of the absolute claim of the nation or State as above all principles of humanity the great liberal-

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ized democracies stand as between the devil and the deep sea. That is why the Bolsheviks and most of these extremists show a much more active irritation with the great democracies, especially with the Anglo-Saxon democracies, than with Germany. German autocracy is breeding a type of Socialist of whom they have some hope. But in English Labour Unions and in American Federations of Labour they see dangerous because reasonable alternatives to their fanatical programme. Trotzky since he came into power has shown a very sullen temper towards Britain and the United States, especially towards the latter.

At the beginning of July, Kerensky, then Minister of War, but really already the dominant member of the Government, resolved to show the Allies that Russia was still in the war. He went down himself to the army of the South West which had been less corrupted by the Bolshevik propaganda than those in the north, and a rather brilliant offensive was undertaken in Galicia which carried the Russian front many miles forward. It was the only fighting the Russians had done since the revolution. By the middle of July, however, Hindenburg brought up fresh troops—probably his line here had been weakened by the withdrawal of men for the other fronts—and when he made his counter-attack whole divisions of the Russians refused to fight and their army was driven quickly over the frontier again.

This offensive undertaken by the Government in Galicia was very displeasing to the Bolsheviks and the Socialist parties in general. As a Russian Socialist, Paul Axelrod explains in the Swedish *Social-Demokraten*, they regarded it as a fatal step to take before the Allies had revised their conditions of peace in accordance with Socialist views. "It is just," he says, "that the Russian people shall know what they are fighting for and that they are not fighting for French or English capitalist interests." That is the usual song of the Socialist just now. Paul, of course, speaks as if his party represented the whole Russian people (*ryska folket*) and refuses to see that Russia's abandonment of the war or even the weakening of her front involves far more peril to Russian interests, to what the Pea-

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sant Congress called the patrimony of Russia, than it does even to the Allies.

The result at any rate was that there was a new outbreak of rioting in the streets of Petrograd, the work of Lenine, supplied, some said, with German money. Mr. Root might have thought less of that "wonderful phenomenon" of Russian orderliness had he still been there. The Government managed after two days to restore order, however, with the help of Cassack regiments, and put Petrograd under martial law. But a new Cabinet strong enough to handle the situation and with men in it who had the confidence of the Socialists was formed. Prince Lvoff retired and Kerensky the strong man of the day, became Premier. The soldier elements in the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council seem at length to have been alarmed by anarchy and bloodshed in the streets and the want of discipline in the army. A joint Congress of their Councils and of the Peasant Delegates was held on July 22 and after a whole night session and stormy debates passed a resolution (by 252 to 57) endorsing the new Government, and, in view of the fact that the country was "menaced by a military débâcle on the front and by anarchy at home", granting the Government unlimited powers" for re-establishing the organization and discipline of the army for a fight to the finish against the enemies of public order." The Executive Councils of the same bodies also issued a stirring proclamation to the army warning the soldiers against "those who have spread discord in the army and shaken its discipline . . . and wasted time in fruitless discussions and disputes." The language of the proclamation left nothing to be desired in point of strength and clearness:

Fellow-soldiers: One of our armies has wavered, its regiments have fled before the enemy. Part of our front has been broken. Emperor William's hordes, which have moved forward, are bringing with them death and destruction. Who is responsible for this humiliation?

* * * * *

Many of those who left the line and sought safety in running away paid with their lives for having disobeyed orders. The enemy's fire mowed them down. If this costly lesson has taught you nothing, then there will be no salvation for Russia.

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... We have acknowledged the Provisional Government. With the Government lies the salvation of the revolution. We have acknowledged its unlimited authority and its unlimited power. Its commands must be law.

* * * * *

Fellow-soldiers: You want a durable peace. You want your land, your freedom. Then you must know that only by a stubborn struggle will you win peace for Russia and all nations.*

The Executive of the Council also passed a resolution by a great majority calling for the punishment of Lenine and that "group of Bolsheviki" who had been fomenting disorder and revolt. The death penalty for treason or mutiny was also restored in the army, which, according to a report issued a little later by Colonel Kolotkoff had been extensively corrupted by German spies in Russian uniform and by agents of the deposed Czar.

It is difficult at this distance to reconcile such clear and firm utterances of the Council with its generally insidious action in undermining the authority of the Government. It is evident that the majority in it had been thoroughly alarmed by the anarchy and bloodshed on the streets and by the revelation of the demoralization of the army. The better elements in it had been roused to assert themselves and had rallied to the support of the Government. They had invested it with unlimited authority and made the new Premier, Kerensky, practically a dictator. But the action of the moderates was fitful and vacillating. The air was full of suspicions, rumours of counter-revolution, of reaction amongst the high bourgeoisie. And behind there was always Tcheidse with the compact Bolsheviki group and the clubs of armed workmen led by Lenine. But for a time at least the activities of the latter had been suppressed. Two weeks afterwards Kerensky seems to have felt himself strong enough to reconstruct his Sabinet on a more conservative basis, dropping extreme men like Tseretelli and taking in representatives of the bourgeoisie class. It was a natural step on his part in order to create confidence amongst

**New York Times Current History* for September.

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financial and industrial circles, but no doubt it strengthened the suspicions the extreme factions had long entertained as to his ultimate intentions. On Aug. 26 Kerensky convoked a great National Council at Moscow. Representatives from the Municipalities, Dumas, financial and industrial organizations, co-operative unions and the professions were present, as well as representatives from the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council and the leading army generals were present. The generals gave woeful descriptions of the demoralization in the army. They described it as having lost all sense of duty, the soldiers frequently insulting and sometimes murdering their officers; they called for the suppression of the regimental committees and the restoration of the rights of commanders to inflict punishment. Amongst other illustrations of the demoralized condition of the army, General Alexeieff described how when a regiment had been ordered to attack, only twenty-eight officers, twenty non-commissioned officers and two soldiers advanced, the rest looking on with indifference while these perished. The Cossack general Kaledines hit straight out at the folly of the extreme radicals who had ruined Russia's military strength and position:

We Cossacks have been free men. We are not made drunk by new-found liberties and are unblinded by party or programme. We tell you plainly and categorically, remove yourselves from the place which you have neither the ability nor the courage to fill and let better men than yourselves step in, or take the consequences of your folly.

Kerensky was still the leading figure at this Congress and his speeches were warmly applauded by the great majority. He warned the assembly against attempts at counter-revolution in emphatic words; of course he was aware the effect of such would be to strengthen the hands of the Bolsheviks. He denounced the separatist movements in Finland, Ukraine and other parts of Russia. But the extreme Radicals and the Bolshevik group of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Delegates listened to him in sullen silence, and their leader Tcheidse in a wary evasive speech glanced at the disorders in the army, but dwelt with emphasis on the popular theme of land distribution.

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But he called on all to support the Provisional Government and was in favour of according it full and complete powers.

But somehow or other in spite of so many wise resolutions nothing effective was done to restore discipline in the armies. Either Kerensky was more of an orator than a practical leader or what efforts he made were successfully thwarted by the followers of Tcheidse and Lenine. Events soon gave a terrible emphasis to the warnings the army generals had uttered. The Germans began to advance on the Riga front and the Russian army retired, many regiments even making no show of resistance. On Sept. 3 Riga, the great sea-port and capital of Livonia, fell; and the terms of the exultant proclamation the Kaiser issued on that occasion ("Riga is free") implied that it should never more pass into Russian hands.* The excitement in Russia over the fall of Riga was great. The Provisional Government lost credit on account of its weakness in dealing with the disorders in the army and the subversive propaganda of the extreme Radicals. But Russia was now chaos beyond the control of Kerensky. Loose bands of soldiers commandeered trains and disorganized transportation. Many factories and mines had closed on account of strikes and exorbitant demands by the workmen for increase of wages. The production of munitions had fallen 60 per cent. It was in such circumstances that General Korniloff, the Commander-in-Chief, began on Sept. 9 to march an army on Petrograd. There is a characteristic ambiguity about the affair. Kerensky seems to have been the first to communicate with Korniloff with the idea of getting some real force behind the Government to control the armed workmen and the garrison regiments who had long been out of governmental control. But Korniloff's first proclamation from Mohilev shows that his movement might readily include greater designs. "Russian men," it says, "our great fatherland is perishing. The Government

*The Baltic provinces contain about 150,000 Germans, mostly noble landowners and merchants, controlling over 2,000,000 Lettish peasants and farmers who hate them bitterly, and in the disorders of 1905 burned 243 German manors in three months.

under pressure of the Bolshevik majority of the councils is acting in full accord with the plans of the German General Staff. Overwhelming consciousness of the impending ruin of the fatherland compels me to summon all Russian men to save perishing Russia." That is the announcement of an entirely new régime which he intended to inaugurate. But the Russian people seem to have feared a counter-revolution which might lead back some form of the autocracy even more than they feared disorder. Kerensky promptly disavowed Korniloff and put Prince Lvoff, who had been the intermediary between them, in prison. Expressions of loyalty to the Government poured in from all parts and parties, and Korniloff's revolt collapsed with the desertion of most of his troops. The Commission which afterwards tried Korniloff freed him from the charge of high treason but not from that of attempting to overthrow "the established régime."

The result of Korniloff's attempt was to strengthen the position of the Bolsheviks, and the Council of Workmen and Soldiers began to resume the authority of which they had partially divested themselves, at least in theory. It was under their auspices that the second great Congress was held at Moscow on Sept. 27 and Tchadse was president this time. Kerensky's address was listened to with very limited sympathy. But the moderate elements were still strong enough to prevent the Bolsheviks getting control. It was resolved that a new Coalition Cabinet should be formed but that Kerensky should present his list of ministers to the Congress for approval. But Kerensky was determined that his hands should not be tied and proceeded at once to nominate a Cabinet of his own in which the moderate parties were strongly represented to the great indignation of the Bolsheviks.

The reports which came to us at this time about Russia all represented Kerensky's authority as firmly re-established. But the suspicion of the revolutionary socialists as to his ultimate intentions was deepened, especially after the revelations in October of his communications with Korniloff. They all regarded Korniloff's revolt as a sign that the high bourgeoisie had deserted the revolution and were not without suspicion

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that another attempt might be made to suppress the socialistic element in "the new freedom." The peasants saw their hopes of land distribution disappearing and the demoralized soldiers the chances of the immediate peace confidently promised by the Bolsheviks. These seem to have been the causes that raised Lenin and Trotzky into power.

By Nov. 1 Kerensky knew he was near his end as one may see in that despairing statement which he issued to the Associated Press. On Nov. 7 the blow fell. After prolonged discussions at an all-night session of the Council of Workmen and Soldiers the Bolshevik leaders took action and in concert with the Petrograd garrison, overpowered the few Government troops and the Palace guards of cadets and women soldiers and announced that all authority had been assumed by the Council. They declared their policy to be the offer of immediate distribution of the large proprietors' lands to the peasants. Lenin became Premier and Trotzky Foreign Minister. There was some bloodshed in Petrograd but not much; more in Moscow, where some thousands were slain before the Bolsheviks got control. In the Ukraine and the Cossack territory they failed after some sharp fighting to establish their authority.

The new Bolshevik Government maintains itself for the present at least by a rule of force which is as essentially despotic as that of any military Junkerdom could be. As far as one can judge from reports it is for three-fourths of the Russian people only a change of tyranny from the rule of the Czar and his circle. For the working men are only a fifth of the population of Russia and not all of them are Bolsheviks. The arbitrary and reckless proceedings of demagogues suddenly elevated into power, the capricious ideas of committees of workmen and revolted soldiers and sailors are as oppressive a form of despotism as the old Czardom with its corrupt bureaucracy and its secret police. All other classes become at once suspect to a one-class rule and their members liable to arrest on vague accusations and slight suspicions. The Constituent Assembly that had been called for Dec. 11 to determine the constitution of the nation in its "new freedom" was intimi-

dated from appearing by threats of what would happen if it dared to assume its functions. The Bolsheviki had failed to secure a majority in it. Of the members that did arrive those that were not friends of the Bolsheviki were seized and imprisoned—a violence against which the Council of Peasant-farmers protested. All the corporate properties of the nobles, the landowners and bourgeoisie has been taken over and that of the Church has been confiscated. All the private banks as well as the National Bank have been seized; the old functionaries of the Civil Service, it is reported, have everywhere been dismissed and their work is in new and inexperienced hands; production and industry have been paralysed, though from all accounts there seems to be an absence of bloodthirsty tendencies on the part of the Bolshevik Government. But we have not heard all the stories yet, and at any rate the attempt to suppress all constitutional expression of opinion except their own is not an auspicious way of inaugurating a new era of universal peace and harmony within the nation. All that of course is an old story in mob revolutions. Internationally the Bolshevik ideas have more originality. As a preparation for entering into thorny negotiations for peace with the most crafty and relentless Power in Europe they have managed to have all their ablest generals either dismissed, imprisoned, exiled or retired in disgust. Their later army regulations (Dec. 16) have still further reduced what have hitherto at any rate been considered the mainstays of military discipline by abolishing all ranks, titles and decorations and making the officers elective. If not re-elected, a Colonel or Major becomes a private. It is at least a hazardous experiment, with Hindenburg's lines only a few miles away and in an army composed of Russian peasants and workmen who have not yet learned to distinguish between freedom and license. Their industrial centres have been lamed by strikes, exorbitant demands on the part of the workmen and the disorganization which revolutionary rule has produced in capital and management. Their transportation system one hears is disordered and their output of munitions and supplies precarious and can only be maintained by greatly reducing their armies.

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Politically the Bolsheviks' policy has been equally fatal to Russia's strength. Russian sailors under the red flag marched into Abo and Helsingfors and supported a Socialist revolution there which has ended in a Socialist Landtag declaring Finland independent—against the will of the more conservative elements in the country which for various reasons desired to maintain a constitutional connection with Russia. The Ukraine, the Caucasus, the Cossacks of the Don, Bessarabia have declared their independence of the Bolshevik government. All Russian Poland and the Baltic provinces of Courland and Livonia are in the clutches of Germany and unless the Allies prove strong enough to save the situation, it is likely these lands will pass into control of Germany under some form of suzerainty. Abo, Helsingfors and the Aland islands are gone with an independent Finland, and with the loss of Libau, Riga, Peranu, and Reval sure to go when the Germans choose to push at it, Russia ceases to be a Baltic Power, Petrograd becomes an impossible capital and the frontiers of Russia are rolled back to where Peter the Great found them.

These are the circumstances in which the Bolshevik leaders come forward with proffers of peace, "without annexations or indemnities," to Germany, and with menaces to their Allies if they do not immediately conform to such a peace as these two choose to make. As if big words about the moral forces of the proletariat would make an impression upon a Germany steel-hardened in war and grimly contemptuous of all that sort of talk, which it has been listening to now for a long while. Trotzky seems to forget that Germany feels that she has beaten Russia to the ground and that the German soldier has full confidence in his military leaders and that his temper is that of one who has been conquering, looting and ravaging for three years in five or six of the fairest countries in Europe. I read lately a letter taken off a German soldier who had died in the trenches. It was from a young brother at home (style and spelling were distinctly below the old German standard) and after acknowledging the receipt of a box (of plunder), it said, "I hope you will be here before I leave so that we can have a good time with the fine things you

bring with you." It is true he added—"for there is nothing at home"—denn hier ist auch nichts. Perhaps the Bolshevik dreamers have in mind the tremendous and inspiring influence which the French Revolution with its new watchwords of liberty, equality and fraternity had on the unenfranchised peoples of that time. But it was by a striking exhibition of military vigour and organization that the French Revolutionaries carried their ideas with their arms triumphantly into other countries and gained for them the prestige of the things which are strong and succeed. There is no such spell in the spectacle of weakness and confusion which Russia presents to-day under her present Bolshevik régime, but rather a warning to the nations.

And a hardly less clear indication of Bolshevik fatuity was the menacing tone Trotzky adopted towards the Allies and his grandiose declarations that the peace he seeks is not the peace they seek. Except for the pressure of the Allied arms on Germany, Russia would get no peace at all, no peace, that is, which would not leave her a very much crippled and dismembered country with her Baltic lands all gone and the loose isolated masses of the Slav race in the west and the south at the mercy of Germany and partly under her control. Naturally Germany is seeking to make use of the Russian situation in order to embarrass the Allies and accumulate troops for a thrust on other fronts. But the Bolshevik leaders are probably playing the situation for their purposes also. They want time and relief from the strain of war in order to consolidate their new position. Also it is one thing to talk loudly about making immediate peace by the moral forces of the proletariat when you are an irresponsible faction in opposition, and quite another when you have become a responsible government and have to meet the hard facts of the situation. Probably the Bolsheviks are already feeling this and are not such fools as to seriously intend a separate peace which would not have the guarantee of the Allies behind it—not at any rate till Scheidemann is Chancellor and Liebknecht Lord High Admiral of the German fleet; then it might be safe. Germany is very willing to make a catspaw of Russia in negotiations for peace, but

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even Bolshevik leaders can hardly believe that the terms of any separate peace she offers a demoralized and revolutionary Russia will be anything but a well disguised trap. But it is not a situation in which fine phrases will enable the Bolsheviks to "carry on" much longer. It will need strenuous fighting before the Teutonic Powers sincerely relinquish the conquests on the Baltic provinces or their grip of the South Western Slavs, and more strenuous still before they consent to do both. The Bolshevik leaders are subtle conspirators—that has been almost a profession in Russia for generations—but as statesmen they are inexperienced and extreme theorists, and in spite of President Wilson's chivalrous declaration and the goodwill of France and Britain, it is likely that Russia will have to pay in some form or other for the tyranny of the Bolsheviks and the confusion and disorganization they have deliberately created.

* * * * *

So the long rule of an inefficient and indolent aristocracy over the ignorant mujik has ended in mob revolution. One can see plainly how true to life are the pictures which Tolstoi, Dostoieffsky, Tchekoff and others have given us of Russian nobles, officials, conspirators and peasants. I don't know how much the hundred thousand workmen of Petrograd or Moscow will profit from the fact that some 40 or 50 of their number, or men professing to be of their number, are suddenly removed from workshops and conspirators' clubs to occupy spacious rooms in a Palace and issue edicts instead of the previous occupants. Probably they are only creating a new type of bourgeois and aristocrat. The general economic conditions of labour and reward cannot be arbitrarily altered. Leadership must be paid for in one form or another, and authority and discipline maintained unless society is to sink back into the primitive state of a Russian commune. The essential thing is that rule shall be just, that is, capable of making justice prevail.

But the one-class ideal of the Bolsheviks really amounts to a denial of the law on which all society must be based, namely, that labour shall have its reward. To restrict its

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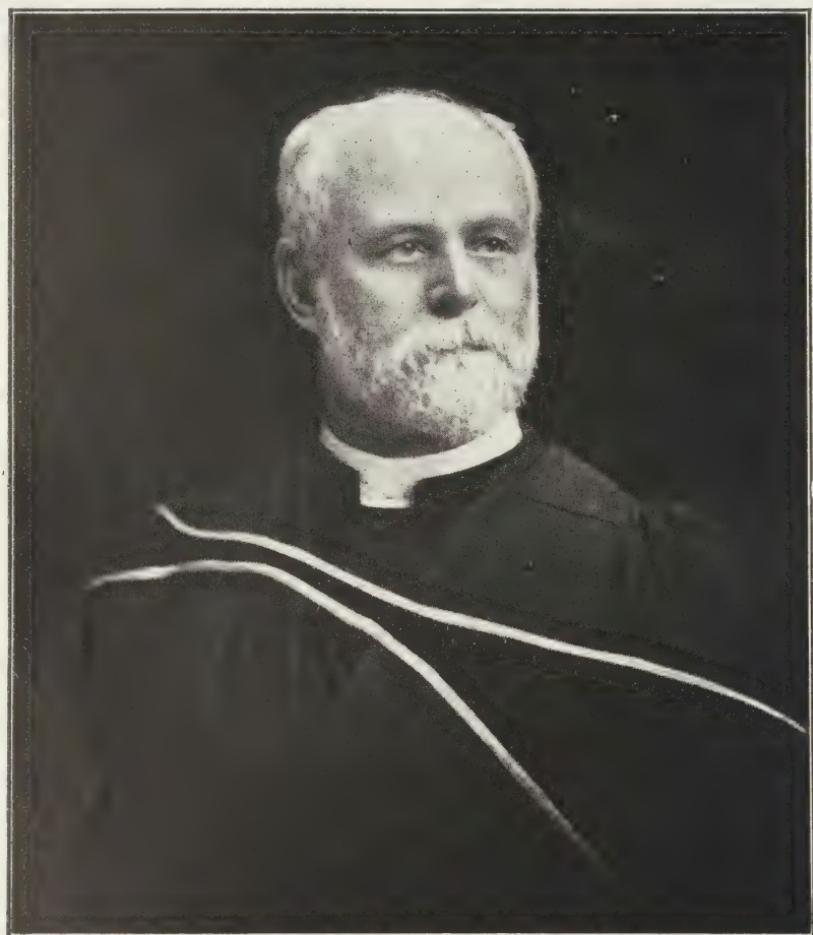
operation to the life of a single individual would go a long way to make it valueless and ineffective, except perhaps within a very limited sphere of the higher activities of science and art. The maintenance and progress of civilization involves much that the Bolshevik logic does not take into account. The right of the citizen to enjoy what the thrift or energy of his fathers has accumulated is only limited by the principle that his use of it shall not involve positive or actual injustice to those around him. As for service, a rich man or an old and wealthy family can perform services for society of a useful and refined kind possible only to them; it is obvious that many of them do. The trouble is that many of our big business men are quite oblivious of the special responsibility lying on them, on account of their wealth and influence, to make justice and the best prevail. They have hardly yet come out of the buccaneering stage in which their education was chiefly in "deals" and their influence on Society carelessly utilitarian. They run the risk of losing the support of the intellectual classes before they are aware of it, the classes with which the German government's success has been so astonishing. Their wealth also has sometimes been acquired by means which are unjustifiable and a wrong to the community. All that is the weak side of our bourgeois civilization. There is no doubt that many things are tending to produce that condition of unstable equilibrium which precedes revolution. Predatory wealth, conscienceless profiteering, the egotism of the climber, the low-class alien immigration, the bitterness of parties, all contribute. And there is a traditional inertia in democratic governments in dealing with the problems these create. The old traditions of Liberalism with its principles of non-interference and individualism did not tend to educate the democracies to the necessity of finding the right line between the unwise restriction of freedom and the suppression of abuses. Modern society has become a huge, ugly, uniform structure founded largely on systematized greed and extortion which has at length descended from 'big business' down to the shopman and workman. Bourgeois government, with a relic of its former Puritan beliefs working blindly in it, tries spasmodi-

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cally to moralize this society by restrictions on natural freedom which do not touch the real disease. Mountebanks are abroad in every class advertising their special recipes for effecting a cure in thirty days, and Oriental gymnosopists sing with great applause soothing prophecies of an idyllic golden age to a world which the German has dragged back to the violence and barbarism of the dark ages. There is no specific for such disease, only the slow painful work of honest readjustment and reawakening of the better spirit which has disappeared in the unscrupulous scramble.

The war will have this good about it, that it will enforce attention to all these problems. Even the Bolshevik experiment, whatever it may cost Russia, will be an object lesson of great value.

JAMES CAPPON.



DR. GORDON,
Principal Emeritus of Queen's University

Queen's Quarterly.

VOL XXV

April, May, June, 1918

No. 4

REV. DANIEL MINER GORDON, D.D., L.L.D., C.M.G.

AMONG the sayings that have been treasured up and handed down to us, through the medium of the scriptures, there is one that comes to us at this time in Queen's with a peculiar significance, "even in laughter our heart is sorrowful."

In the last 'Quarterly' expression was given in appropriate terms of appreciation and welcome concerning the appointment of our new Principal Dr. Robert Bruce Taylor. Such appreciation is in nowise lessened by the natural thought, that the incoming of the new means the outgoing of the old, that the official relation of Dr. Gordon to the University is over, that "even in laughter the heart is sorrowful."

Dr. Gordon came to us at a critical time in the history of the University. To put it briefly the University had outgrown its bounds. Under the inspiring leadership of Principal Grant, increasing numbers of students were flocking to Queen's. The Church's support was absolutely inadequate for present needs, let alone for inevitable expansion. The situation Principal Grant had to face, was either to limit the number of students, or cut loose from the Church, find a wider constituency and let the natural expansion go on.

With the situation unsolved Principal Grant passed away, and after a brief interregnum Dr. Gordon came as the unanimous choice of the Board. For thirty-six years he had been living a free life in the active ministry, occupying some of the most important and most strategic points in the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Only during the last few years of an already long career had he been engaged in professional work as Teacher of Theology in Pine Hill College, Halifax. He might well have hesitated before assuming what would surely be his greatest task, and his heaviest responsibility, to round out what had already been an unusually active life. But he

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was not disobedient to the heavenly vision, which came to him in the form of an invitation from a Trustee Board.

When Principal Grant came to Queen's in 1877, he found himself with a well defined policy, but with neither students, buildings nor endowment. When Principal Gordon came in 1902, the one thing that demanded attention was the policy. At first a loyal attempt was made to continue the Church connection, but this was seen to be impossible, so after much consideration and full consultation with the Church and the friends of the College, it was decided to end the historic connection with the Church, and let the College appeal for support on its own merits, making Queen's as national in Constitution, as she had come to be in spirit.

This decision was not without its difficulties. Many who were old and loyal friends of Queen's opposed it with sincere earnestness and grim determination. Often in the discussion hard things were of necessity said. Through it all Principal Gordon never once forgot that he was the Principal and never once over-pressed his position as Principal, but safely controlled the situation by his dignity, his forbearance, his kindly consideration for every man's view, and his infinite patience through a turmoil of meetings that must have seemed never ending.

With the policy fixed, it had to be carried out, and this work has been going on during the greater part of Dr. Gordon's regime, the last act in his last year being the bringing of the Mining School under the direct control of the University. All this is an easy thing to put down on paper; the toil and endeavour it entailed is quite a different matter. In addition Dr. Gordon was called on to exercise all the functions of the executive head of a growing University, the growth being more than one hundred per cent. from 1902 to 1914. Besides this he took a prominent part in the extremely important and critical questions that faced the Church, and in all the public questions of the day he was interested and active. On every occasion he represented the University in a way that always called out our respect and confidence. His public utterances were always timely and dignified, as he was strong enough to

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resist the temptation of dissipating himself by his much speaking.

In these days when the air vibrates with the hum of activity; when most people vie with most other people in what they call "service," great speeches are almost impossible. Yet on more than one occasion Dr. Gordon made speeches that may well be considered great. His reply to the Anglican greeting to the Assembly in London was one, and his presentation of the question of Church Union in Montreal was another, neither of which will be forgotten by those who heard them.

Dr. Gordon's home will be among the treasured memories of fifteen generations of students, and of many other guests of the College and city, including distinguished representatives of Church and State. In his home Dr. Gordon was always an ideal host, and whether it were a postman or a Bishop, he was made to feel that the resources of the heart and mind of a true Christian gentleman, were being expended for his special benefit.

When the war broke out in 1914, no one responded to the call of King and Country more quickly or with fuller heart than Dr. Gordon. Appreciating as he must have done the crippling effect in men and money the war was bound to have on the University work, he never hesitated in encouraging professors and students to offer themselves for the greatest service in the history of the Empire. The splendid records of Queen's men in varied forms of service for the Empire, in hospital work, behind the lines or on the actual battle field, were things of which he was proud and of which he loved to speak with grateful appreciation. The University and its Principal will look back with thankfulness to this glorious chapter in its history. The loyalty that he expressed in grateful words strong young men have translated into deeds of enduring worth.

We rejoice to know his work is not yet over. Though relieved of the great responsibility, we trust he may be spared many years to enjoy the rest he has fairly won, as there are ways in which a man of Dr. Gordon's ability and experience can continue to serve his Church and Country.

DANIEL STRACHAN.

A CRIMEAN DIARY.

[1854: March 23, War; April-May, Landing of French and English at Varna. Thence to Crimea; September 20, Alma; October 25, Balaklava; November 5, Inkerman.]

1854 May 6. "Parted from my father and [brother-in-law] at the Waterloo Station, and took the Rail to Southampton, went on board the Steamer 'Simla' bound to Malta, and regretted to hear that she was quite new and on her first trip.

It is vain to enter into the feelings that possess me in again leaving home, or to express the sense of loneliness I feel in this parting, the worst I have ever yet experienced in all my wanderings. I leave a good and kind wife and two dear children; and He who has in His mercy carried me through so many perils alone can restore me to that home that I feel nothing on earth can recompense me for being deprived of."

So this diary begins, in old notebooks with 'Flowers from the Crimea' grey, crisp and brown, between blotting paper leaves, at the outset. Jottings from the heart, simple, sincere, with no more thought of print than if the writer had been a peasant; expressions too of a man respected as well as loved, accepting his place, doing his duty: the world lives by such, high and low, even in a more self-conscious more restless age —un esprit loyal et droit, as his eldest child writes of him half a century after his death, which came but a few years after he got home from the Crimea. He left many little children. One had been born while he was at the war. The French words used above are perhaps untranslateable. "He could not understand, he told, any one doing wilfully what he knew to be wrong." The least self-righteous of men; born one would say for private life of noble domestic peace, bounty, chivalry, courtesy. A tory at heart, in the sense in which George Eliot declares every decent man such;—more than that, loyal to those he would have scorned to talk Carlylese of, as his 'mock' superiors: "had the honour of signing my name under the Duke's [of Cambridge], on completing our duty of survey";

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and, "though Marshal St. Arnaud may be a great General, there is a vast difference between him and the English Gentleman, of whom I don't know a better specimen than Lord Raglan"—but humane and sensitive with regard to those his other friends, his dependents, as much so, if otherwise than, he would be to parents, wife, and children. On the second page of the diary: "At 1 Bell, an engineer fell through the machinery, and was, almost instantaneously, killed; the poor fellow was terribly mangled, thigh and wrist broken. We buried him at sunset. I cannot but feel ashamed of human nature at the apparent little concern we all felt, curiosity seemingly being the uppermost in all our enquiries and looking on. We signalled two steamers and sent letters home to our friends. How I longed to return with them; for again I say what can recompense me for such a separation as I am now subject to?"

The silent English. In his case, certainly, repression, or hiding of emotion had not made a hard heart. Nor, doubtless, in many a heartless-seeming witness of a poor man's death. Yet the present writer recalls likewise his own right natural distress at passengers on a liner (and, more, the ship's officials) showing no feeling, when a poor servant putting our luggage in the hold had his foot cut open. And there he was left, till our comforts were looked to. Had one of us passengers but pricked his finger he would have been waited on and no delay. Though truly, as Mill says, speaking generally: "The absence of interest in things of an unselfish kind, except occasionally in a special thing here and there, and the habit of not speaking to others, nor much even to themselves, about the things in which they do feel interest, causes (sic) both feelings and intellectual faculties to remain undeveloped."

But this man we speak of was served with love. "The servants adored him; everyone who came in contact with him was only glad to serve him. If only one could have given him more." The little children he left wrote, when elderly women, of how "we could not walk with him one day; because we were playing with little friends; and next morning we were crying in bed thinking it over, and we sent for him; and how the dear man comforted and kissed us." "He never could bear to hear a child cry; and I can remember him hurrying past one

of those low-sized cottages because a little child was sobbing." Yet it seems he might have had as a motto: 'Be thou familiar but by no means vulgar.' "He came home from the war with a beard—I believe a very handsome one, but we children only thought what a fine doll's broom it would make; and I think we asked him, or got him asked; and felt rather crushed by a sort of disapproving silence on the subject. I suppose he thought it a little disrespectful." He was ordered abroad again—to Halifax—but few years after the Crimea; and "that fatal step was probably the cause of his early death. He was not able for the terrible wrench from his loved wife and children; how well I remember the dreadful evening when he kissed us and tore himself away and left us all crying and sobbing. He came back ill the next year [his last year], and M.... nursed him, just before [his younger son] was born. . . . to his great joy." The children's nurse, the friend of fifty years in the family "said he caught her hands on the lobby and danced round; he was so afraid, he said, you [his elder son] would be spoilt amongst all the girls. I think his health never was really well again. . . . But I did not know or realise how bad things were; only the last day I was brought to kiss him. I felt there was something very wrong, and was crying, and he said 'it is God's Will, my child.' When I saw him next he was dead, and so was my childhood." Six months after his death one of his young children writes to the mother: "I am most dreadfully lonely and unhappy; I don't know why, but I am; and I don't know how to get all right again: everybody is very kind; but oh, why was he taken away just as we were all joined together after such a long separation? When will the time come to be with him again? It sometimes feels as if one's heart could not hold all that was in it, as if one must sink under the trouble."

"Old, unhappy, far-off things,
And battles long ago."

The writer of the diary was nearing forty at the time of the Crimean War. He had served in Australia, in Canada—where he recalls the then even more frequent being burnt out, in wooden Montreal—in India; half an invalid he was, ever since that last service. In Ireland too; and appreciated the trooper

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naïvely remarking in his sea-sickness, “ ‘arrah, Jemmy, (to his companion), hadn’t we left Dublin town, we’d have been there still.” Which fully held in reserve Touchstone’s meaning: “Well now I am here, the more fool I; when I was at home, I was in a better place.” Not without Henry V’s poor soldier’s: “He may show what outward courage he will: but, I believe, as cold a night as ‘tis, he could wish himself in Thames up to the neck; and so I would he were, and I by him, . . . so we were quit here.”

In another Crimean diary also, it is the Irish poor forget not our humanity. An officer had six men killed; ordered six more—“he might have said ‘poor fellows’,” said the Irish sergeant who took his order for replacing six dead men.

Yet, of all the poor soldiers, the ‘common’ soldiers, with common humanity, Kinglake—after speaking of their non-complaining—wrote: “It is remembered indeed that once they showed indignant displeasure; but the feeling in that instance sprang from what was a purely unselfish, nay even delicate sentiment. An order had been issued directing that the blanket in which a dead soldier lay wrapt when carried to the edge of his grave should be removed from his body before consigning it to earth, and that measure our men disapproved. In the midst of their own bodily sufferings they condemned what they thought a slight to the remains of their departed comrades.”

But there are no subtleties suggested by such scenes in this dutiful man’s diary; no discussions on lawfulness of his business; no reflections as old as Goldsmith’s *Citizen of the World’s* in ‘Digression on the Nature, Usefulness and Necessity of Wars and Quarrels’: “Brutes, having but narrow appetites, are incapable of carrying on or perpetuating wars against their own species, or of being led out in troops and multitudes to destroy one another. These are prerogatives proper to man alone.” He used to quote from a greater than Goldsmith at ‘the Club,’ that those who talk of abolishing war, though they may deceive others, do not deceive themselves.

Eight to nine knots was the time made, that journey; on May 12 they were at Gibraltar. This horse artilleryman judged: “In case of war I should say we should require heavier guns than there are there at present; and it strikes me the

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ranges are too limited." In the diary are many illustrations of his England's lack of system, leaving things unprepared until fresh sharp experience makes his country think and act and succeed, if at greater cost.

"How I miss companionship in seeing sights," he adds,—the universal cultivated feeling, noted again this year in the diary of a grandchild in Italy who never knew him—"and longed for the society of my dear wife. But when would not her being with me make me happy?" The same honest thought again, "how doubly we should have enjoyed it together"; when "a Greek gave General Cator and me a couple of roses, and their fragrance was beyond anything I ever found in a rose before." Yet he—a Master of Hounds—knew, and "loved country things and country ways."

"The views are beautiful owing to lights and shades that seem peculiar to the Mediterranean. Passed the Simoom transport, with the 79th Regiment on board; gave cheers more than three times. She was not steaming, strange to say, because she had a fair wind; which is an admiralty order; she was making about 3 knots an hour. The people of England wonder why the troops don't arrive or why they are sent by steamers. It must be that they are able to pay for coals for their war steamers. Such are the absurd ideas of economy that exist in our service."

"May 23. Made Gallipoli"—on the European side, up the Dardanelles—"and found the Harbour full of French ships, and their camps in the distance. The country looks green and by no means so deficient in production as expected. But it is too true how badly we provide for our Troops. The first regiments that arrived here did not have anything to eat for the first three days until two o'clock; and at this moment they are only getting bad brown bread. Indeed it was most marked to-day to see the provision for landing [the French] troops. A French steamer arrived an hour after us, with nearly 1,000 men on board. In four hours they were nearly all on shore. We had to land an officer and three hours;

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and we were detained seven hours; the officer had to tow the boat out for his horses.”

“The recklessness of life and expenditure as regards animals, he writes later, “has been something fearful; but we have no system; all, we think, is to be procured at the moment for money.”*

“We have no system,” are the words of an R.E. used to the present writer in 1913, after his experiences of systematic methods even in *gemäßich* Bavaria; itself without system to a Prussian. So, in the *Letters from Crimea* by this diarist’s friend Colin Campbell—whose comradeship as guest or host appears often when they were under canvas—“The French Commissariat seems admirably managed; and their men never want for anything. I know no one point in which the French army is not superior to ours, except in obstinate bulldog courage. They march infinitely better; they keep their arms in better order, and their equipment and organization are vastly superior.”

This again illustrates Kinglake, who, it will be recalled found the French with a system, with means for supplies reaching men; and afterwards with help, and then beds, for the sick, and more decent hospital care; though he finds that French tents were poor weak shelters. And our diarist does say, on July 5, after noting waste in buying unfit horses for English army:

“was unable to see the Review of French Troops, which I hear was a fine sight; but they are far behind us in all branches of the Army, particularly in the Artillery; they have not horses enough.”

Does he mean the *Stoff*, the *personnel*; as contrasted with the system?

On May 9. “5,000 Sardinian Troops arrived” and on the 14th he “saw the Sardinian Troops disembarking,

* “It is curious,” writes Sir William Butler, in his *Gordon* (p. 17) half a century later—“to trace in the diaries and letters of some subordinate actor in the Crimean drama the palpable evidence of our unreadiness for war, all the more convincing in its testimony because it does not appear to be conscious of the moral which the writer is at the moment pointing.”

ther appearance very striking and their military carriages are even better than the French. Could not help feeling how miserably deficient we are in this respect; but we build our carriages with the first object to last many years; what they are intended for being only a second consideration."

The French had experts and followed their advice. Here we read, May 29, "Called on Lord Raglan; he was gracious, but unfortunately my opinion was different from his in nearly all the points we touched upon regarding the management of horse." What can I do alone?"

Later, of greater anxiety he writes—one comes near him often, an honest, burdened, dutiful life, and a life's unsatisfied longings—"Sunday July 16. Went in to Varna, and saw the General. Met with a disappointment, but I have ceased to be sanguine, and feel now as if I was always prepared, I cannot say for the worst—this is more than I can say—but it's something to say that these disappointments do not affect me as they did once. I cease to expect much, and happy for me if I can only learn to expect even less. . . . Life is indeed a struggle, but who can say he struggles as he might?"

Home letters would have relieved a heart so longing, but they often did not come. As, August 2: "No letter from home; fully expecting one; my disappointment was great; those abroad only can feel such disappointments."

Again: "No letters from or of my dear wife. How little people at home can realize the disappointments of *no letters* when the mail comes in."

"May 24. Sailed through the Sea of Marmora, and arrived at Scutari at 12 o'clock"—on the Asiatic side opposite Constantinople. "The view of Constantinople is beautiful as you advance up, and most striking; as the first view of it is disappointing. Went on shore and saw General Cator; received my orders to disembark to-morrow, and was happy to hear that I was to remain at Headquarters; the accounts of living, miserable and most discouraging: we certainly are quick at making ourselves well off under difficulties. 'Be content to live on board ship as long

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as you can'; the staff officer said to me; 'for the moment you come on shore you will hate yourself.' . . .

The external appearance of St. Sophia disappointed me. I hear the interior is beyond my conception. We shall see, if we are off to Varna"—on the coast of Bulgaria as it is to-day; whence the fleet sailed across to the Crimea—"Ld. Raglan"—the Commander-in-Chief—"re turned from it yesterday. . . . I was present at a Council of War, when it was decided that the Army was to advance, as Osman Pasha finds it necessary to strike a blow; otherwise, he says that he cannot hold his position. My own opinion is that we are very unable at present to render him all the assistance he expects or that we should wish to afford."

May 25. Pitched my tent and thought how different reality is to talking of camp life sitting in London."

It was to be, here, with a vengeance, in the winter of 1854-55.

"However as long as God spares our health" is the half broken man's thought, "we should have little to complain of."

Yet what were officers' discomforts then, or hardships and terrors afterwards, compared with the men's? At least officers long continued to come back to food, change of raiment and dry bed.

"Saw General Cator, and dined with him in the evening."

We want nothing, the men inspected used to answer Lord Raglan, except the moneys due here or there, now or then. Those were the pence agreed for with them, and their right. But as to food regularly, or decent cooking, or supplies of clothes just then needed, or medicine, or nursing, or anything proof against sickness and misery, such was not to be their lot.

An officer does, indeed, get "up at half past four a.m.; for what with flies, and dogs howling, and then drums beating I get no sleep from 3 o'clock. Night after night the horrid dogs keep me awake"; but he dines, and invites to dinner, and can even write, "fell on my legs to-day in getting a comfortable lunch at his Lordship's."

We know what "the ruffianly *Times*" (Feb. 9, 1855) wrote of Kinglake's hero, expecting Lord Raglan and Staff to "return with their horses, their plate, and their china, their German cook and several tons' weight of official returns, all in excellent order, and the announcement that the last British officer being dead, they had left our positions in the car of our gallant Allies." After change of ministry Lord Panure, as minister, wrote to Lord Raglan: "It would appear that your visits to the camp were few and far between, and your Staff seem to have known as little as yourself of the condition of your gallant men." The Commander-in-Chief replied as a gentleman, with what the *Times* described as aristocratic *hauteur* and gentlemanlike *tranquillity*.* Yet, if the fierce Russell correspondence had not appeared, would the misery have been known, however faultless the commanders as honorable men;

*Charles Kingsley, aristocrat to F. D. Maurice: "We think nothing but the war . . . Thank God Lord Raglan's training under the Duke has taught him to despise in silence the anonymous curs at home, and the disappointed grumblers in camp, who, as his great master knew too well, are worse enemies than any French or Russians."

†Florence Nightingale wrote, Waterloo Day, 1898:

"What an administrator was the Duke. . . . He made each Corps be down on the ground he had chosen for it the next day; the ammunition each would require was conveyed to it under *his own* orders (how many a battle has been lost for want of ammunition!); he provided for every possible contingency. Nothing was neglected, nothing lost, nothing failed. And so he delivered Europe from the greatest military genius the world has seen.

How different was the Duke from Lord Raglan, excepting that both were honourable gentlemen! Lord Raglan was told in a letter by a chance Doctor, a volunteer, a civilian, a man whom nobody had ever heard of, that if the men were not better hatted, better fed, better clothed, in a few weeks he would have no army at all. Lord Raglan rode down at once . . . went into his informant's tent and said, 'You know I could try you by Court Martial for this letter.' He answered, 'My Lord, that is just what I want. Then the truth will come out. What signifies what becomes of me? But will you ride round first alone just as you are now at once and see whether what I have said is true?' Lord Raglan did so, and found that it was within the truth. And so the Army was saved. The men were dying of scurvy from salt meat; but the shores of the Euxine were crowded with cattle."

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and would Miss Nightingale† and the nuns have remade the hospitals and given the sick comfort and the dying rest?

May 26. "Went over to Stamboul (Constantinople) to purchase baggage poneys; succeeded in procuring four for myself and others. How different is the appearance of the town when in it; filth and dirt and literally swarming with the most disgusting diseased looking dogs, something between the dingo of Australia and the jackal. Returned weary and fatigued, for it is no child's play to walk in the streets of Stamboul all paved with large stones.

May 27. "Got up early and rode out. . . . to see Capt. Anderson's battery, and breakfasted with him. I was much pleased with my ride; the country is very pretty, and at present looks well, being so green in parts, like Ireland or England; and looking up the Bosphorus put me in mind of parts of the Rhine; the houses and along the roadside more like India." "It is really beautiful; and I can never cease to regret seeing such a country"—by nature, 'encumbered with its own fertility'—"in such hands"—our Turkish allies."

St. Sophia seemed disappointing at first, like its city; but it is beyond conception, within, as he was told; and so he found. It

"far exceeding anything I had expected; . . . the feeling of grandeur it gives; . . . its fine proportions and beautiful inlayings of gold reaching to the arches and dome, its pillars of marble and porphyry, and galleries, with the whole effect of hundreds of Turks walking about, praying and hearing their preachers—a scene that requires as many hours to take in to the mind as I spent, I am sorry to say minutes, in seeing. . . .

And to think that all this had once been Christian; and then to see where the unbelievers had partly effaced from the marble walls and balcony the sacred Cross; but it was through the decorations to that extent that they can never obliterate it."

He had a simple reverent churchman's way of the time-being. "He was what you call orthodox in his mind and ways;

and though I think he was truly religious, I cannot ever remember him speaking to us of religion. One of his children wrote; "except a solemn reserved word about God now and then; and I cannot remember if it was addressed to us or that we heard it" And copied into his diary among some extracts from Sydney Smith, is "Of this much I am sure, that the attempt to impress notions of religion on very young children, before they are capable of thinking seriously for one moment upon anything, is to associate for the whole subsequent life ennui and disgust with the idea of sacred reflections; and I am fully persuaded more injury is done by injudicious zeal than by neglect."

Of which words he sent another copy to his wife, as found half a century later in her desk, with his Crimean photograph hugely bearded against the cold—"this is the Bashaw you will see"—and the wild flowers he picked and sent her—blue colour-ed still in their faded brittleness. "The enemy fired several shots from the opposite heights," to where he was on horse-back. "I gathered a few flowers and sent them to my dear wife."

He half feared the mother's more subtle religious instincts and more extensive church observances—his great dislike was people going from church to church after preachers—yet he observes days, and enters in another diary for the Annunciation, his child baptized, "a well chosen day." And that child after fifty years "can recall his voice still, reading St. John's Gospel." In his pocket-book used on his last weary ordering abroad alone, is written: "Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid."

A Sunday Entry, June 4. "Commenced a letter to my father"—to whom he wrote weekly—"read morning service." In this little Book of Common Prayer is entered "1854 Scutari, June; Varna, August; Crimea, Sept. and all 1855 to June 1856."

"We went in the afternoon to see the Sweet Waters of Europe [pleasure resort, at the head of the Golden Horn] where Jews, Greeks and a few Turks were spending their evening; indeed all seem to make a picnic, and it resembles many of our places out of London on the same day."

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During this last [Balkan] war, the present writer could not find from some acquaintances in the capital of defeated Turkey, that ordinary life and the marrying and giving in marriage ever yawned at alteration.

And another—June 18: “attended Divine Service held in the Barracks at Scutari.” And so, regularly.

“Got the order to start for Varna; wrote letters to my dear wife”—she died in recent years, ever holding up his ways as the best ways; “what a life-time I have lived wothout him,” she said—“and to my father; cannot help feeling that I would rather proceed home, having so little to reap from this expedition. Those who know me are aware that this does not proceed from the dread of hard work. But I hope good may come of it.”*

He worked hard daily; but as he once notes, one does not note down one’s daily work and duty. It is true he could have and “enjoy a comfortable dinner and a quiet evening, charmed with the scenery of the Bosphorus, the most beautiful I ever saw.”

Yet the next Sunday, forerunner of many worse: “Very unwell all day, and confined to my bed; how sadly we feel the want of comforts . . . how light we should feel all trials, when it pleases God to spare us health.” “It is a cheerless life when deprived of health.” “This prevailing complaint keeps us delicate fellows in perpetual dread.” The next day “unfit to move, but had to ride into Varna on duty, saw Lord Raglan, and had my doing duty on the Staff permanently settled. Rode out in the evening to Ld. Lucan’s camp, on duty; heard of the retreat of the Russians, and raising the siege of Silistria”—on the present Bulgaria-Roumanian frontier—June 26, 1854.

The only opinion of the Duke of Cambridge’s [Commander-in-Chief from 1856] here recorded was, when he expressed himself to the writer that “he thought Silistria [de-

*Would he have copied and applied another extract, from Burke; had he lived to 1913, and the Treaty of London, with Turkey’s confiscations, and to an English war against Turkey and for Russia? “But times at length has made us all of one opinion; and we have all opened our eyes on the true nature of the [Crimean] war—to the true nature of all its successes and all its failures.”

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fended by Turks] would fall, as we were not in a position to prevent it." It did not fall.

Again ill; "remained nearly all day in my tent; the wind and dust is dreadful; . . . oh! how miserable it is; quite impossible to write." And even when well: "Our life is a monotonous one; and we are sadly off for books."

He buys "Hd. Quarters ,Before Sebastopol, 10 Dec. 1855," *Sermons* by Bishop Medley, a Tractarian collaborator, of restrained fine taste, afterwards Metropolitan or Senior Anglican Bishop of Canada. H. D. Seymour's *Russia and the Black Sea* 1855, he had, a book not without sympathy for the Russian people; which speaks of "poor poverty-stricken Germany." Other books of about this time were his Butler's *Analogy*, Taylor's *Holy Living and Holy Dying..* Boswell's *Johnson*, Nugent's *Memorials of Hampden*, Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, De Tocqueville's *American Republic*. His extracts, in the diary, cut from a *Morning Post* during the war are—under that newspaper's heading, 'Democratic Requirements'—

"Books, leisure, perfect freedom, and the talk
Man holds with week-day man in the hourly walk
Of the mind's business: these are the degrees
By which true sway doth mount; this is the stalk
True power doth grow on; and her rights are these."

—Wordsworth.

And:

"For though hereditary wealth, and the rank which goes with it, are too much idolised by creeping sycophants, and the blind abject admirers of power, they are too rashly slighted in the shallow speculations of the petulant, assuming, short-sighted, coxcombs of philosophy" [i.e. la philosophie des philosophes de l'encyclopédie]. "Some decent regulated pre-eminence, some preference (not exclusive appropriation) given to birth, is neither unnatural, nor unjust, nor impolitic."—Burke.

And that is not the only extract of like temper put into the diary, from the great Whig Conservative.

July 2. "Very far from well, and compelled to get into sick quarters. This is a sad look out for the campaign; being so far, I should like to see more; but to have duty and

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not be able to perform it worries me. . . and there is no one to do it for me."

Kinglake finds the inferior English force overpowered, in all its men, by having to do those things which the numerous French had men to do by relays.

"I hope it will please God to spare my health, but fear I am not able to bear hardships or privations. How sad does it make one, and does not permit one to think of home." "Who can tell how oft he offendeth: O cleanse thou me from my secret faults."

This is the only text directly quoted. But of one Sunday:

"Not spent as I should have desired; but He will be merciful who knoweth the secrets of my heart."

And another:

"Read prayers; as indeed I do every day. Oh! that they may be acceptable to Him, the Giver of all good things."

July 4. "Osman Pasha came in last evening. This looks like a termination of the war at least for the present: indeed there is a talk of an armistice for 60 days. Perhaps the wily Russian wants to get us into winter: at the same time I do think he is half beaten."

The English political gravamen against the Russians had been that his diplomacy was not in ways that were plain, yet that they were bent on getting to India, and that their desire to join England in a sort of partition of Turkey was mere deceiving of the English. The French, of course, had their grievance, against 'Greek' rather than 'Latin' influence in the Levant.

August 21. "No doubt we are on the eve of a move, [from Varna] which we shall all be glad of, for sickness prevails still to fearful extent."*

*Henry Kingsley on the Crimea in *Ravenhoe*.

"And Charles told his comrade about Ravenhoe, about the deer, and the pheasants, and the black-cock, and about the big trout that lay nosing up into the swift places in the cold, clear water. And suddenly the lad turned on him, with his handsome face livid with agony and horror, and clutched him convulsively by both arms, and prayed him, for God's Almighty's sake—

Four days later: "we shall soon be all afloat"; but next day "the Artillery still disembarking." "I fear we shall be short of men for the expedition; but we shall make up in heart.

"We all left; and a grand sight it is to see such a fleet of ships; how little do we feel excited in the great undertaking we are attempting; not half so much I daresay as most of us felt in the anticipation of it in England."

Sept. 12. Made the Crimea; "and we all seem to take it as easy as if it was the coast of England; reality produces a quietness." "A barren looking coast with few houses but large numbers of castles; the distant hills about Sebastopol are ahead of us; we are 35 miles south. . . . The enemy, only 15,000 strong; it is not at all likely they will wait for us. . . and the apparent good feeling and confidence of the inhabitants is remarkable and portends our success, which I think there is little doubt of, as the enemy have but 54,000 men in the Crimea."

Sept. 13. My wedding day. . . .

Alma.

Sept. 20, Wednesday. Came in sight of the enemy, situated in a beautiful and wonderfully strong position, on the heights over the River and village of 'Alma'. . . The enemy opened their fire about quarter past one o'clock, and in about two hours and a half our gallant fellows gained the heights, taking a breastwork with heavy field guns in position. The French were on the right; and had they advanced as they should, our victory would

There, that will do. We need not go on. The poor lad was dead in four hours. The cholera was very prevalent at Varna that month, and those who dawdled about in the hot sun, at the mouth of the filthy drains of that accursed hole, found it unto their cost. We were fighting, you see, to preserve the town to those worthless dirty Turks, against the valiant, noble, but I fear equally dirty Russians. The provoking part of the Russian war was, that all through we respected and liked our gallant enemies far more than we did the useless rogues for whom we were fighting."

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have been more complete.* Still, they had difficult heights to take. But they paid us the compliment of saying that we alone could have taken the centre. Three of our guns opening on the heights on the enemy's left. . . . seemed quite to finish the battle; it was a great thing Capt. Turner getting these guns up as he did. Just as I crossed the River after the Staff, when the fighting was very hot, young Teasdale of the R.E., was wounded slightly; I remained some time with him. . . . I came up to the body of Lt. Walsham, R.E. I took his glasses. . . and sent them to his friends. The last shot was fired on the enemy's retiring column about four o'clock."

Sept. 21. "Halted to bury the dead, and look after our poor wounded fellows, a sorry sight, and I fear our loss is more than we anticipated. I went over all the ground and every point of the position; and it was really a wonderful feat our taking it. We heard that the Russians fully expected to beat us; at least did not think we could take it under three weeks with 100,000 men; so letters of Prince Menschikoff to the Czar said. His carriage was taken by the French, and letters found."

Sept. 23. Deserters have come in, and give us a deplorable account of the Russian Army, and the despondency particularly of Prince Menschikoff, who, a Polish officer just come in to-day says, tore his hair and abused his officers. I should not say he would find this do any good.

To-day finishes the dreadful task of burying the dead, and sending the wounded on board a ship. The poor Russians were also looked after by us. But we have not half medical men enough. Poor General Igleden died this evening of cholera."

*Later, there is another glimpse of dissatisfaction with one's allies: 1855 May 3. The expedition of 8,000 French and 3,000 English embark to surprise and take Kertch, on the Sea of Azov.

May 6. "To the surprise and vexation of us all, we heard to-day of the return of the expedition. The French Commander-in-Chief never liked the expedition; he did not send within 1,500 men of what he promised; and when they had embarked he would not take the responsibility of the event, but actually recalled his force."

Later this month, a second expedition was sent; successful.

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The English loss throughout the war was some 24,000; perhaps 4,000 killed in battle, and 20,000 by disease, etc. Col. Colin Campbell's judgment: "We are losing four or five a day by what is put down in the returns as cholera, but is nothing but cramp brought on by lying in the wet and cold."

Sept. 24. "Sunday. Got the order to board at 7 a.m. but did not get off until half past 11 a.m. How fatiguing it is being under arms and not marching. Our poor men felt it much. Several deserters come: all agree that the Russians are in a great fright, and astounded at our beating them so quick. . . .

Arrived at the heights above Sebastopol at 11 a.m., and had a good view of the Town and Harbour; could see the five ships of war that the enemy sunk across the Harbour"—which had hindered the allies from attacking by sea—"could see the Fort of Constantine and other lesser forts.

Mackenzie's Farm.

Returned at dusk, and pitched our tents in a green field on the river; helped to cook my own fowl for dinner; had a good wash in the river, for it was the most dusty march we have had. The French still on our right: they are terrible fellows to plunder. However, for the English, on 25th, "a great deal of valuable personal plunder and ammunition" and "a great deal of baggage amongst which was the Governor of Sebastopol's," which "the Horse Artillery and Cavalry compelled the enemy to abandon," at "a little affair at a farm called MacKenzie's." "We halted at dark at the River at the head of the islet at Sebastopol; no baggage up; fortunately had my dinner with me, and Captain Payn pitched a tent for Gage, Fortescue, and myself." "Cut forage for my poor horse; who, thanks to our commissariat, had not any corn all day; rolled myself in my cloak, and made a pillow of my saddle but I can't say I slept well."

Balaklava.

Sept. 26. "Up at 5, marched at 7, and came in sight of Balaklava at noon. Our skirmishers fired a few shots at the

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enemy on the heights which were over a pass we evidently had to go; they retired, but on our coming into pass we could see the village and the inlet of the sea and a ruined fortress; on the left the heights from which a round shot and shell were thrown; but fortunately all fell short. Two guns of the H.A. commenced firing, and others deployed on the heights, when in half an hour the enemy bolted, and our riflemen entered the fort; the 'Agamemnon' shelled the fort also. We got their guns and about 100 prisoners. Many people had come there for safety from Sebastopol, never dreaming to have seen us here; amongst which are the Governor's family. I and a Dr. Elliott billeted ourselves on some people evidently in comfortable circumstances; they are glad to have us as protection, and they give us all they can; but they have lost a great deal, inasmuch as their farm was pillaged.

To-day we are landing a siege train."

Sept. 30. "Shall be glad to leave our billet, so foul is the Town becoming. We are still landing our guns; but the enemy are taking great advantage of our delay, and are putting many heavy guns in position, and throwing up works. They fired many shots into our camps to-day, but without any effect."

Oct. 1. "Sunday. Attended Divine Service at Lord Raglan's; visited a Greek (sic) church, which was under repair, and now full of our soldiery." Another word reveals the Englishman, liking cleanliness with godliness: "Enter one of the Greek chapels; profusion of pictures, and one little old dirty priest."

Oct. 2. "Rode out to visit the fourth division of artillery, and had lunch with Townsend; looked over Sebastopol and heard them firing shells at us, fortunately without effect. We are still getting our siege guns up, and others from the fleet; rumours of an army being on our flank; the 5th and 4th Dragoons landing; they lost upward of 100 horses in a gale of wind coming from Varna."

Oct. 3. "Still halted, and all getting weary again of inactivity except those connected with the siege train who I dare

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say are busy enough. 1,000 Marines have been landed, and also 1,000 Seamen; they are getting up some of their guns, and the Blue Jackets are delighted with their work."

Oct. 4. "Sorry to say that a shell from the Town killed two men and wounded one."

Oct. 5. "We are throwing up field works to protect our rear; siege guns nearly all up. Heard of the death of Marshal St. Arnaud."

Oct. 6. "The enemy still keep firing shells: we shall be soon ready to repay the compliment I think with interest."

Oct. 7. "What a deplorable thing to see our fine horses going to destruction for want of sufficient forage which they have never had since their arrival."

Oct. 8. "Sunday. Our Engineers broke ground last night; we have lost 1,084 men killed and from sickness in the month of September. We have but 16,000 Infantry now; we landed 23,000. Transports have gone to Varna for more Turks. The French have landed some 11,000 men."

Oct. 9. "The enemy are increasing their firing every day; we are wondering and astonished at our delay. It is said we begin in four days.
Bitter cold day and night."

Oct. 11. "The enemy increased their firing and made a sortie during the night; there is an army supposed to be threatening our rear; all the Greeks and inhabitants are turned out of Balaklava; they were supposed to be conspiring to blow up our magazine ship and burn the others."

Oct. 12. "We have made our position very strong. We are still getting our heavy guns up, and hope soon to have them in position: the men are beginning to have hard and trying work in the trenches."

Oct. 13. "The French had 27 men killed and wounded last night; we had three officers wounded in the trenches; my friend Colonel Weady seriously I hear, his face lacerated.
We are all getting tired of delay; but there is, no doubt, much to be done. We hope really to begin in three days more; although I wrote to my father"—also

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in the service—"that we were positively to begin to-morrow."

Oct. 14. "The enemy keep up a continual fire from the town; they killed two riflemen yesterday; they have done little harm considering they must have fired by this time near 3,000 rounds; they are still making their position stronger; and I hear doing it well."

Oct. 16. "Went on board the 'Andes'. What pleasure I had going over her, and visited the cabin my dear wife and children had on their voyage from Boston; what happy and pleasing recollections did all their little haunts on board afford me; the ship felt to me like an old friend."

Oct. 17. "The French and English guns opened on the town. . . . The round tower on the left ceased firing in an hour; but a heavy fire was kept up from all their other Batteries. At half to nine the French magazine was blown up, which did them so much mischief that they ceased firing. Before noon a second of their magazines blew up: this at least shews bad engineering. The enemy's guns that should have been engaged by the French were now directed on us, and a galling fire it has been. At half one o'clock the enemy's magazine blew up in their principal work, and for the remainder of the day they only fired two guns from it. The fleet approached in the afternoon and fired all evening. Fortunately we here had but few casualties."

Oct. 18. "The enemy has opened a tremendous fire, and have put many of their guns in position again. The overpower us with their numbers; and the French not firing a shot all day, their Batteries are directed on us.

How we are to silence the fearful number of the enemy's guns I know not: their firing this evening is awful. . . . The enemy's confidence is evidently restored. A small magazine of theirs in the round tower blew up about midday.

I heard from my dear father and mother, and wrote to him and to my dear wife." "To her I wrote much oftener than I entered in this book"—which is almost weekly.

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Oct. 19. "The French opened their fire to-day; and certainly there was not so heavy a fire from the enemy as there was yesterday. The French fire slacked in the evening, owing to another magazine's bursting. The town was on fire in one or two places, but it appeared to be soon extinguished. A rifleman shot a Russian officer or General at 900 yards."

Oct. 20. "A Magazine of the French burst at 9 a.m., killed 15 men. We are most fortunate in having so few casualties. . . Had luncheon with Major Townsend." He, soon after, was killed.

"Daily the enemy seem firing less. English losses small."

Oct. 23. "Poor Major Willet and Lt. Young were buried to-day; they died of cholera. . . Poor Capt. Childers was killed in the trenches about 5 o'clock, a round shot hit him in the head."

Oct. 24. "The firing goes on much the same as yesterday. I had no conception a siege was so monotonous a sight."

Oct. 25. "The Russians attacked our rear early in the evening, and drove in the Turks from their entrenchments, who abandoned them disgracefully, losing seven of our guns. The enemy's cavalry advanced and came down on our heavy brigade of cavalry who charged them most gallantly, and so drove them back although double the number. Enemy's cavalry also advanced on our right, but were well received by a terrible fire from the Highlanders which soon set the enemy in retreat. In these affairs the enemy lost largely in comparison with us."

Charge of the Light Brigade.

Our light brigade of cavalry by some mistake made a charge on the enemy's right to take some guns, which they succeeded in doing; and also in beating the cavalry in rear of the guns; but being too far advanced and no support to them our poor fellows were literally surrounded and had to charge the enemy to get back. They had advanced under a galling fire from artillery and infantry, and had to retire under fire also. They were fully $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile in advance of our front. This was so unfortu-

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nate an affair, and all proceeding from an order not properly given. The loss was as must have been expected fearful: the Brigade went into action 600 strong, and then but 200 could be mustered this evening." ("Eight officers were lost, and twenty wounded.") "There has been some great error somewhere; for never were men marched on to such certain destruction as these poor fellows were to-day; they literally charged the Russian army; and I could scarcely believe it possible when I saw them going on and no support whatever protecting them. The more one thinks of it the harder does it appear to reconcile such a want of discretion; and I feel satisfied it will be worse thought of hereafter even than it is now. The enemy being permitted to retain two of our positions is to me difficult to reconcile: it is certainly not our game to fight [with any but] one great object in view; then why have sent our cavalry to charge the Russian army? It is sad to think of our loss, and horrible to think that our poor wounded fellows are being stabbed by the savage and ignorant enemy at the same time that our surgeons are doing all they can for their wounded. This we owe altogether to the villain C—— and his senior officers; the enemy have been told to think us savages and that we are warring against religion."

Oct. 27. "The seige continues: we appear to fire shot for shot with the enemy. Many of our missing cavalry have turned up. We are waiting for the French to advance their works, for the purpose of entirely destroying the right of the town; the day of assault will then take place; the impatience of the army is great."

"The French did better than we, which was provoking," wrote the author of *Ravenshoe*, in Kingsley tones; "because [as a result,] the curs began to bark—Spanish curs for instance, American curs," etc.

Oct. 28. "Upwards of 100 horses of the enemy came into our lines last night and were all captured.

A flag of truce went to-day to enquire after our missing officers.

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The French have advanced their works within 400 yards of to town; so in a few days we may hope for the grand attack.

Sudden winter cold came in the end of October. Horses without provision; five dying from want of food, for one saved by medicine; "shameful treatment" of them, ever since the war began.

Nov. 1. "All Saints' Day. . . . The weather is indeed becoming severe for living in tents, to say nothing of our poor fellows in the trenches; and our poor horses are beginning to die fast." "The misery of the trenches, and the failure of our assault"; as a war correspondent, looking back, sums it all up.

Nov. 2. "It is the general feeling that we should have assaulted the place on our arrival here six weeks ago."

Nov. 4. "The French are within 200 yards of the outworks of the enemy which they have ceased to fire from; but they have opened from other batteries, and are at this moment apparently as able to fire as many guns as they did the first day. We have, I fear, underrated our enemy, and a terrible battle must be fought before we are conquerors. Pray God we may be so, and that it may lead to a termination of the war. . . . Fortunately in the Artillery we have lost but 30 men in the trenches since the siege commenced."

Inkerman.

Nov. 5. "Sunday. How differently passed to what I should have wished. The enemy came on in great strength, on our right front, and made a most desperate attempt to drive us back. . . . Our advanced field battery of guns were actually taken and spiked. . . . The guns were soon recaptured; and it was in this that my friend Major Townsend was killed. . . . Our few men kept the enemy in check, until supported by the French, when the enemy retired, after as hard a fight as ever took place, from 6 a.m. until 2 p.m. Our loss is upwards of 1,600 killed and wounded; General Cathcart one, and General Strangways. . . . The enemy's loss must have been fearful; at least 4,000 killed and wounded; their bodies

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in some places literally strewed the ground. . . . It has been a dearly bought victory to us, and I fear has not much advanced our main object, which is daily becoming a vital question; nor do I see that we are any the nearer than we were a month ago. . . . Our losses estimated at 2,500, including 125 officers killed and wounded."

Nov. 7. "The siege can scarcely be said to progress; and it really looks as if we should have to raise it. There was a council of war to-day . . . decided on our staying here for the winter. . . . If it please God to spare us our healths our hardships will be light. Rode into Balaklava, saw the 46 Regt. landing; their bright and clear appearance gave me a strange feeling of the ludicrous; and they looked so fat and sleek, after our faces of trial and hardships here."

Nov. 8. "Received letters from my dear wife and father; not such a one as I had expected from the former. Poor dear girl she feels her loneliness, and leaving—. How deeply I have regretted all through that she could not remain with — until my return. Oh! that I was with her and my dear children again. I fear she will but badly get on without my assistance. Her letter has thrown a gloom over me that I am unable to shake off, and I awoke this morning feeling that something was heavy on my mind. But why should I be sad when we are all spared health? Wrote to her and my father."

Nov. 9. "Poor girl—what trials and troubles have I imposed on her. Oh! I have a heaviness on me I cannot account for, and would gladly shake off. It is partly owing to our present gloomy operations here, and the prospect of remaining here all winter; but it is feeling that my dear wife is not as happy and as comfortable as I should like her to be that weighs me down. May God in his goodness watch over and protect her and my dear children and guide her in all her undertakings."

"Sunday. Attended Divine Service at Ld. Raglan's, and received the Sacrament, I trust worthily—received a sad letter from my dear wife. How sad are all the troubles my absence is occasioning her; but think we are

all in health; had I not been ungrateful for former blessings, and discontented, perhaps all these present trials might have been avoided. Poor girl, she is literally without a home; and I am sure I am without one except when I think of her, and our dear children. May it please God to restore me again to them."

Nov. 10. "A wet and gloomy morning. Not being well I did not go out until the afternoon. Our operations are daily becoming more on the defensive, and now the great undertaking is to secure this large army for the winter. . . . Duff of the 23rd [prisoner] in Sebastopol writes to say that he is treated well."

The Storm.

Nov. 14. "We were visited by such a storm and gale of wind as has been seldom witnessed; it blew all night, and about daybreak it rose to its height, blew all our tents down and some away, and left us wretched for the day. But what signifies our discomfort to the fearful loss of life, and the destruction of our fine transports, 30 they say, and several ships containing ammunition and food for the army. Our hospitals were not spared, and our poor fellows suffered from the fearful exposure they were subject to. Indeed our graveyards are increasing and spreading. Our wintering here is but a sorry look out."

"As long as I live," said the author of *Letters from the Crimea*, "I shall never forget the day of the dreadful storm"—five miles out marching, four hours on the road, snow, darkness—"I had to halt the men, and make a short speech, in which I told them that any one that fell out would have to lie and die as he fell, as I could not stop to assist anyone. This roused them to struggle on, and I got them all to camp. I shall never forget the scene—every tent in the regiment (except about ten) was down, and the men endeavouring to shelter themselves under the wet canvas as it lay on the ground."

Nov. 20. "A terrible wet day and scarcely got out. Our tents begin to let water in; at least mine does."

Yet a nephew of the diarist has said that only for the comparative dryness of his uncle's tent wherein he was wont to

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take refuge, he, in those his subaltern days, would have died in the Crimea.

Nov. 25. "Rode in to Balaklava, and got a new tent, and got a dreadful wetting into the bargain. How little should we think of it, if we had a good comfortable house and fire to go to and dry our things: as it is, when shall my things be dry?"

Nov. 29. "St. Andrew's Day; a wet and black one. And it is hard to attempt anything towards making myself snug for the winter. How we are to get through it I scarcely know, so totally unprepared as we are to meet its exigencies."

Nov. 30. "Our casualties are becoming greater, both in men and horses."

Dec. 1. "A wet dreary day. What is to become of us if such weather continues—it is fearful to contemplate."

Dec. 2. "A dry day, thank God for it; we value it perhaps more than we ungrateful beings ever did before."

Dec. 3. "Another dreary wet afternoon."

Dec. 4. "A fine day, preparing the ground for my tent. Mail arrived from England where the good people are at last awake to our critical position in this country and to the magnitude of the war we are as it were only entering on."

Dec. 6. "Made my tent more comfortable, bringing my Canadian experience to bear in constructing a stove out of copper ammunition case; it answers admirably."

Dec. 14. "Ordered to Eupatoria, 70 or 80 miles N. of Sebastopol. Went by French steamer. Captain and officers very kind and attentive; had the cabin poor Marshal St. Arnaud was last in."

Christmas Day. "Started for Balaklava where we arrived in the evening; and went on board the 'Jason' where I cannot say I enjoyed the party."

Perhaps this word from his daughter's notes may help to explain:—"I think he had a great horror of anything disrespectful or irreverent."

Dec. 30. "French and English nearly captured 200 Russian dragoons. We however burnt their forage and destroyed their huts."

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Dec. 31. . . . "trust the close of the forthcoming year may see us enjoying the blessings of peace."

1855, Jan. 2. "Weather changing to rain and snow: we are badly prepared for such weather; and I fear, before we can get all that liberal England is sending to us, that winter will be over. As it is, we cannot carry up all that is forwarded to us."

Jan. 3. "Oh what a sad night—rain, snow. I was very ill all night, owing, I believe, to the charcoal burning in my tent and sad to say poor Major Swinton was found dead in his tent and it is supposed from the charcoal."

Jan. 5. "Two more fatal cases I heard of to-day, from charcoal. But 18° too cold to live in tents without firing. Our difficulties are really fearful. No sleighs here: it is pitiful to witness the sufferings and misery of our poor horses; they must all die, or nearly so."

Suffering from lumbago and rheumatism; which he sets down to riding in cold. In bed for some days.

"H [orace] de Vere called and sat for half an hour"—the brother of the poet; who was shot dead from a barrack window by a soldier he had punished.

One officer he mentions lost in the snow.

"What will become of our poor army? This great fall of snow is unusual here; the thaw however will be worse for us; the want of boots is much felt by the men. Had, then, a good pair and three pairs of socks been served out, and one half the clothing, lives would have been saved, and the comfort of those left increased. But there is no practical or common sense in our authorities at home. What is the use of heaping clothing on men's heads and bodies and keeping their feet constantly wet, and giving them no chance of keeping them dry? Still, they know at home that the whole of our encampment is like a bog."

Jan. 15. "Still snowing: what will become of us?"

Jan. 21. "Sunday. A soft fine day, thank God; the snow fast disappearing, but leaving our roads in a dreadful state. The enemy continue to make spirited sorties on the

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French; they lost 40 men last night. Our army is reduced to 10,000 men."

The entries become fewer. The last are these in the summer of 1855:

June 7. "Large bodies of French marched. . . The Mamelon was stormed by the French; they went right through it driving the enemy before them—who were taken by surprise—and followed them up to the Malakoff Tower. The Russians came out in strength and drove the French completely back and into their own trenches. Then Reserves advanced which gave them an opportunity to rally, when they went at it again and succeeded in regaining the position. Our few fellows attacked and took the quarries opposite the Redan. The firing was fearful, and our loss has been great."

June 8. "The enemy made several attacks to retake the quarries, but failed. . . Our firing continuing the enemy fire less."

June 9. "A truce was granted to-day to bury the dead."

On September 8 the Malakoff Fort fell to the French; and the Russians abandoned Sebastopol.

As this is being written one reads of the death of Major General Rideout, R.A., the Commander of the batteries of mortar before Sebastopol, in 1855, and the death of Sir George Wombell Bart, the last surviving officer of the Light Brigade charge.

N. C. D.

(Edited by W. F. P. Stockley).

Cork, Ireland.

THE TEACHER AND THE NEW AGE.

THREE is not a little comfort to the schoolmaster in the fact that at the present day it is possible for him to discuss his problems with the general public without being accused of "talking shop."

This is due to a variety of reasons. First, there is the obvious fact that wherever the tax-bill goes, the school tax goes with it. Every taxpayer has a financial stake, and sometimes a large one, in our public educational institutions. Our Departments of Education are among the great spending departments of our Provincial Governments and our schools of various names and grades occupy the most numerous, and certainly not the least imposing of our public buildings.

Again there is the fact that the taxpayer is in the majority of cases the parent of children of school age and realizes that a good deal of the variety, some of the comedy and even more, perhaps, of the griefs and anxieties of family life arise from the child's life and work at school.

There is a third reason, however, which comes home to us all at the present time. In these years of social unrest and upheaval, of the revaluation of all values, men and women in increasing numbers are asking what our schools have accomplished and are judging these accomplishments by certain rather definite standards of achievement. They have been told again and again that the German schoolmaster—the village teacher as well as the University professor—is responsible not only for German industrial and military efficiency, but also for German ideals. They have come to feel that if the German schoolmaster won the battle of Gravelotte—as Von Moltke is credited with saying—he also invaded Belgium and sank the Lusitania and that he is still the chief bulwark of autocracy in government and faithlessness in international relations. So they are asking, What of the past? and What of the present? in order that they may deal intelligently with the question, What of the future? For even in these stirring and anxious times we cannot (at least, we must not) live only in and for the present.

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Whatever results the war may bring, it is bound to bring to mankind as a whole—and especially, perhaps, to us in Canada—an increasing respect for organization and also a clearer conception of its limitations. We have had multiplied to us the evidences of German efficiency until to some people, whose capacity for strong feeling is greater than their capacity for clear thinking, the word "efficiency" has become a thing of loathing. But what we could not devise in the way of efficiency we have been compelled to acquire by imitation, and when the war is over many of the lessons thus learned will never be forgotten. We cannot forget if we would, though history shows us that our children may.

But this is not an essay on the War though the War is the theme toward which the pen of every present-day writer on serious themes hurries him almost against his will. It is an essay on education, or, more strictly speaking, on that important part of education for which our Public Schools are responsible. And what of our Public Schools? In the world about us, party organizations, social institutions and practices, and political theories, melt and transform themselves before our eyes. Is the Public School, of all our institutions, to remain unaffected except for some slight changes which personal whim may dictate or political expediency suggest. No one at the present time has the right to prophesy in this connection but everyone has the right to hope and the hope of the writer, based on an experience in which occasions for serious reflection have been numerous and not always pleasureable, points with increasing sureness towards two things.

In the first place it is hoped that our Public Schools will be better organized—better organized because they will be differently organized, on a different basis and towards ends different from those which govern many of our present policies.

In the past we have been content with the ideal of giving every child some sort of education, not very much, perhaps, but still enough to give him some chance in life. We have not got nearly as far in this direction as some of us think we have, but that need not be an occasion for present debate. In the future we will add to this decidedly quantitative conception a

qualitative element; we will strive also to give to every child in our schools the education which he needs, or, what is much the same thing, the education which by virtue of his native tendencies and capacities he will accept and accept as the greatest gift in the universe.

Then, if we reflect, we will find that we are not really giving an education at all—the child is *getting* one and we are merely providing opportunities, removing hindrances, liberating capacities. Not without some show of reason have impatient radicals—all radicals are perhaps impatient—launched their invectives against the school-desk. “Why,” one may ask them, “should such an innocent bit of furniture arouse their wrath?” “Because,” they reply, “it stands for an attitude towards childhood which is an entirely mistaken one. The desk is both immobile and confining. About the only muscles which the child behind the school desk can use with freedom are the small muscles which wag the tongue, and even these must wait for the teacher’s invitation or, at least, for the teacher’s permission.” The desk enforces the maximum of restraint, while the ideal of the school, so these critics tell us, should be to reduce restraint, both physical and mental to a minimum and to employ it not for the convenience of a teacher or of a system but as a means to a larger and truer liberty for the child himself and for the social group of which, as a pupil, he is a member.

More than once the charge has been made that important features of the school organization such as fixed seating arrangements and a fixed time-table are based upon a fundamental misconception of the purpose of education. Life, we are told, is social and its relationships and activities are largely informal. The life of the school is essentially unsocial, if not anti-social, and is, in the main, exceedingly formal in its character. For the greater part of the school day children sit in fixed positions facing the one way. The programme of work is arranged for them in advance. The interests and tastes of normal childhood are frequently unrecognized and sometimes deliberately ignored. Children who begin their school career full of interest and enthusiasm reach sooner or later the stage described by one teacher as follows: “When my class of High

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School boys come into the room for their recitation they settle back in their seats with a bored look which plainly puts the whole responsibility upon me. I must either galvanize them into action or else spend the class period in reciting the lesson *to them*." In social life outside the school even grown people never arrange themselves as children are arranged in the school-room; they want to face each other, to talk with each other, and to move about with some freedom. Moreover, the normal child is instinct with curiosity and impatient to learn and to participate. Do our school curricula and our school time-tables recognize this fact as they might? "Are we not," asks one of the leading critics of present day school conditions, "committing a blunder similar to that of the man who said he would never go into the water until he had learned to swim?"

Now while it would be futile to seek to remove every trace of artificiality or of restraint from school life, it is plainly desirable that the teacher make constant appeal to the natural desire of children for activity for expression, and for co-operation. But is the teacher the one to blame? If charged with these defects, he will reply: "Yes, I know, but these children must pass the examinations," or "What would the parents say?" or "What would the Inspector say?" or "What would the Department say?" Plainly, then, we must approach those who are higher in authority and who are responsible for courses of study and time-tables and text-books and the other conveniences which so easily transform themselves into hindrances of the real work of education. The educational administrator will say, "Yes, but we must have system." "The public expect us to show tangible results." "The teachers would be lost without regulations." "You surely would not have anarchy in the school."

Then again the parent in a dim sort of way feels that he has an interest in this matter and that the school might possibly do more and differently for his children. He knows something of ill-health, if not of disease, fostered by unfavorable school conditions, that his child is perhaps not happy in his school work, that examinations are a nightmare to the nervous child, and that school markings often foster those

most unlovely qualities of pride, and jealousy, and selfishness. He may even suspect that the elements of chance and guess work enter largely into the determination of examination percentages so that 85% with one teacher may mean 65% or less with another or even with the same teacher on another occasion. Of course he does not know the results of scientific investigation into the reliability of school markings or his guess would become an assurance. And yet, even with all this smouldering discontent, he fears the unknown. "We must have examinations," he says, "unreliable and burdensome as they may be." "We must have discipline in the school and how can we have it without uniformity?"

Perhaps, too, his child is one of the fortunate (or unfortunate) ones who fit readily into a system, who master easily the abstractions with which school courses mainly deal, who shine on examinations. The vanity of ordinary human nature precludes the likelihood of any complaint in such a case.

It would seem almost that we are caught in a vicious circle, that we are under a spell—as unwelcome as it is potent—yet, since we no longer believe in fairies, we see no chance of escape. Perhaps the heart-searching and soul-questioning which the War is forcing upon us will provide a charm powerful enough to set us free.

In the second place, it is hoped that we will always use the new and improved machinery of the future with a proper sense of its limitations. One of the great lessons which the war has for the student of educational problems is the infinite harmfulness of organization when it passes beyond a certain point. Germany (or perhaps we should say, Prussia) has organized the German school; it has organized the German teacher and through these agencies it has so organized the German mind that in the deliverances of many contemporary German writers we can plainly hear the click and rattle of machinery. Now academic freedom, like every other form of freedom, carries with it the possibility of serious social inconvenience and, in times of national stress, it may even threaten social stability and effectiveness, but after all it is one of the most precious fruits of the age-long struggle for liberty. In sacrificing it to a narrow and unlovely ideal of

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national aggrandizement Germany has definitely renounced any claim she may have ever possessed to spiritual pre-eminence among or even to spiritual fellowship with the Western peoples.

The idea of academic freedom is however, too narrowly conceived if it is applied only to the University teacher; it is of fundamental importance also in elementary and in secondary education. Unless we take the ground that the large majority of the teachers in our elementary and secondary schools are either cranks or incapables, we must assume that anything which abridges their freedom and comfort in their work must be of doubtful value and that a system which is felt to be an encumbrance oftener than it is felt to be a support is a bad system and, in fact, worse than no system at all. For there could be teaching of the highest sort without departments of education, or inspectors, or reports, or examinations, or anything else of that imposing and elaborate machinery which has come into existence to serve the needs of the teacher and which for many people has come to be almost an end in itself. If this worship of machinery should establish itself in Canada and on this continent, as it easily may, we will be in even worse case than Germany, for Germany uses her educational organization for an intelligible though a highly unworthy purpose, while we would be maintaining an elaborate and expensive machine merely for the purpose of seeing the wheels go round.

The teacher is not, let us repeat, merely a mechanic though he must make use, at times, in common with the rest of mankind, of mechanical appliances and mechanical routine. He is not merely a scientific practitioner, though there are many important laws of human nature and human society which he should know and should apply but which, with all our boasted educational progress, have had, as yet, no adequate recognition in the ordinary schoolroom. The teacher is primarily an artist and, so far as the potentialities of his work are concerned, the greatest of all artists for he deals with the most plastic and most wonderful material in the universe—the child soul. We have begun to value our poets and, while we appraise their productions, we do not thrust ourselves,

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either as governments or as individuals, into those private moments in which poems are born. In the New Age, when the teacher comes more fully into his own, we will have realized much more clearly than we do now that educational organization is a means and not an end, that the limit of its usefulness is in many respects reached much sooner than we once believed, and that often—very often—the best thing we can do for the true workman and the true artist (the two are one) is to leave him alone.

H. T. J. COLEMAN.

THE FRENCH AND RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONS.

THE war has supplied many illustrations of the two principles, which are both true, that history always and that it never repeats itself. Ever and again some episode of the past has seemed to be duplicated, and we were confident that from this point onward events must follow a given course. Then suddenly the path has twisted in a direction entirely new and unexpected. In the situation that appeared identical with the past one there were found to be differences, more or less essential, which misled all our calculations. At every turn of the war we have gone to history as to an oracle that would make the future clear, but the responses have always deceived us. The oracle of history has proved like the juggling oracles in Macbeth, "which keep the word of promise to our ear, and break it to our hope."

There have been two outstanding instances of this delusiveness of historical parallels, one of which has misled our enemies and the other ourselves. The first is that of the Seven Years' war, an analogy on the surface so remarkable as to be almost prophetic. Then, as now, Prussia launched an aggressive war in a time of peace, seized a province in defiance of treaties, roused a European coalition against her, kept her enemies at bay for a period of years by skilful strategy on interior lines, was ultimately reduced to the last extremity, until the whole situation was completely changed by Russia's desertion of her allies. In this parallel of the Seven Years' war the Germans have found their chief encouragement ever since the battle of the Marne. They have been secretly waiting for the defection of Russia, as for the miracle that would again save them, and now that it has actually happened their faith in history may seem to be fully justified. But it is evident already that the oracle has mocked them. They have to reckon with forces that did not operate in Frederick's time—the weight of sea power, the intervention of America, the hostility of nations instead of governments. It is these factors, of which the past afforded them no warning, that are going to decide the issue.

But if Germany has been deceived by a historical parallel, we must confess that our own disappointment has been hardly less. When Russia threw off the old order a year ago, our minds inevitably went back to the French revolution and the marvellous awakening of national spirit and energy which followed it. We took for granted that all revolutions must have a similar outcome. Russia had drunk at the well of liberty, and would now march on like a giant refreshed. There would be no more corruption or mismanagement or divided counsels. A few months might be allowed for the necessary readjustments, and then the Russian legions would trample down the invader, to some new version of the *Marseillaise*. The historical illusion was so strong that it blinded us, month after month, to the most obvious facts, and there are some enthusiasts who are under its influence still. Remembering how the revolution succeeded in France they cannot believe that it has failed in Russia. But that it *has* failed, so far as the larger national interests are concerned, must now be regarded as certain. It has wrecked the army, reconciled the people to defeat and infamy, shattered a great empire into its component atoms.

Before comparing the two revolutions in order to discover why they have turned out so differently, it is necessary to keep several cautions before our minds. For one thing, our own stake in the Russian movement has been so serious that we cannot judge it, like the French one, in a purely objective way. We can make allowances for Girondists and Jacobins, while the antics of the Bolsheviks have upset our plans and involved us in at least another year of war. It is not possible to regard the action of Russia without a certain bitterness, and for this reason we may treat it unfairly. Again, the French revolution lies in the past, and even its worst errors can be excused from our knowledge of ultimate results, while the Russian movement is still in process. Something great and beneficent may possibly come out of it, but as yet this is altogether doubtful, while the immediate ruin is only too apparent. Once more, the details of the French revolution have now fallen into due perspective. All that we clearly see as we look back over the intervening distance is

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the splendid effort of a proud nation, shaking itself free from age-long oppression. Even the horrors of that great time, the September massacres, the reign of terror, the outrages and anarchy, seem only to heighten the epic grandeur. Yet there is abundant proof that the revolution was a much more sordid business than we have come to picture it. Many of its leaders were working solely for personal ends, and some of them were traitors. The army, at the outset, was little better than a mutinous mob. The great mass of the peasantry cared nothing for the new ideals and would have put up with any government that left them in possession of the spoils. It was a gang of professional thieves that stormed the Bastille. The heroic band that marched from Marseilles to Paris was made up, we are now told, of hired ruffians, intent on plunder. There is scarcely an incident in the revolution that bears to be examined too closely, and yet all this squalor of detail has now been covered over with a dazzling robe of legend. In the case of the Russian upheaval we see only the detail in its nakedness—the rougery and intrigue and cowardice and imbecility. There is always the danger that in our estimate of the movement we may repeat the error of Burke and his contemporaries, who had nothing but contempt for the French revolution.

No just comparison will therefore be possible for at least a generation to come, but there are certain elements of agreement and difference which have come into view already. Let us look first at the points of resemblance, which are sufficiently striking—so much so that the later drama might seem to be a reproduction of the earlier one. In both cases we have a great country in which abuses have accumulated, under a despotic government, till a point comes when they can be borne no longer. In both cases, too, the evils of a bad system are aggravated by the selfishness and incompetence of those who administer it. In Russia, as in France, the revolutionary ferment begins in the world of ideas, and spreads from the intellectuals to the workmen, who distort their theories while putting them into action. The actual outbreak, in both countries, takes the form of tumults in the capital, which presently compels the whole nation to come into line with it. By a

strange fatality the situation in France has repeated itself in Russia, down even to accidental circumstances. Nicholas II is the double of Louis XVI, a weak, well-meaning, stupid man, who has had to pay the reckoning for his luckier predecessors. He is cursed, like Louis, with a German wife, more vicious and energetic than himself. His court, like that of Versailles, has been notorious for scandals and extravagances which have had much to do with the final collapse. It would be easy to lengthen the list of such coincidences, which have lent colour to the belief that the one revolution was to prove a replica of the other.

When we turn to more vital factors the parallel seems still to hold. The French movement, at least in its beginnings, was not so much political as social and economic. Mirabeau and others of the wiser leaders had no desire for a Republic, and the great mass of the people welcomed the revival of monarchy under Napoleon. In Russia, likewise, the real motives have been social rather than political. At any time for a dozen years past the Tsar might have secured his throne by a few simple reforms, and the door was kept open for him till the last moment. The political change, so far as we can yet see, has been a mere episode in the social struggle. In its actual course, as in its origin and aims, the Russian revolution has closely followed the French precedent. It opened with a great outburst of enthusiasm, with vows of brotherhood and reconciliation, and visions of a new heaven and new earth. Just as at Paris in 1789 the millennium seemed to have dawned in a single day. Then the differences of opinion began to show themselves. The moderate men who had launched the movement were pushed out by the radicals, and these in turn by the wild extremists. At present we seem to be witnessing the commencement of the reign of terror. The Russian extremists, like the French, have been compelled, for their own security, to override law and free opinion, and to maintain their power by massacre. If the parallel which has thus far held good can be trusted, the reign of terror will end in the exasperation of all classes against their present rulers, and the field will then be open to the moderates or reactionaries.

In all these ways, then, the Russian movement has strik-

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ingly resembled the French; why have its results been so entirely different? Instead of creating invincible armies, why has the revolution transformed a brave army into a mere drove of human cattle, whining for peace at any price? Why has liberty in this instance had its only visible fruits in treachery, cowardice, impotence, abysmal dishonour? It is evident that the parallel with the French revolution is at best a partial and deceptive one, and we have now to consider the all-important points at which it breaks down.

One difference between the two movements lies on the surface, and the temptation has been to make too much of it. Russia has been handicapped, as France was not, by the effort to carry out a revolution in the midst of a great war—a war which for her had been disastrous. Apologists for Russia are always insisting, “you must not be hard on her; you must not expect any country to ride the two wild horses of war and revolution at the same time.” But might it not be argued that the work of revolution was actually made easier by the war? If any good word can be spoken for war it is this, that radical changes which in peace would be quite impracticable can be effected in time of war. The minds of men are then in a state of ferment and exaltation, and are willing to accept heroic remedies. Interests of party count for nothing in face of the paramount interest of the nation. As a matter of fact, in most of the belligerent countries at the present time a revolution of the most drastic kind has come about almost unnoticed. The strain of the war, so far from complicating the internal problems, has simplified them and made them soluble. It was no advantage to France that her revolution found the country at peace, with leisure to indulge in factions and controversies. The foreign invasion, by concentrating all energies on the national danger, was the very thing that saved the revolution. It may fairly be maintained, too, that the war had eased the task of Russia by the friendships it had secured for her. From the outset all Europe looked askance on the French movement and was bent on thwarting and crushing it, while Russia, by the accident of the war, was leagued with the great democracies, which were eager, for their own sakes, to afford her help and sympathy. The revolution could not have come at a more

fortunate moment. If it has failed, the blame must not be laid on the war, which not only made it possible, but offered guarantees of its success.

We pass, therefore, to a more important point of difference between the two revolutions. The France of 1789 was a well-defined nation of some thirty million people, fused into a single whole by a thousand years of common history, religion and culture. When the monarchy fell, the sense of unity in the nation was not impaired, but was able to assert itself all the more vigorously. Russia, on the other hand, was a conglomeration of twenty or thirty nationalities, with nothing to hold them together but the artificial bond of the monarchy. When this was destroyed, they sprang apart. We cannot wonder, therefore, that the French awakening of national consciousness has not repeated itself in Russia; for the truth is that the solidarity of France did not result from the revolution, but was only revealed by it. In Russia the test of revolution has revealed the disunion, the deep-seated antagonisms, which had always existed under the imposing show of a united empire. All this is true, but it does not fully explain the utter collapse. It has always to be remembered that within the circumference of Finns, Lithuanians, Poles, Ukrainians, Cossacks, Tartars, Turks and all the rest, there is a solid block of about a hundred million pure Russians. All the alien provinces might be lopped off and there would still remain Russia—the largest homogeneous nationality on the face of the earth. Why has liberty failed to work for it the same miracle that it wrought for France? It has to be remembered, too, that in France the national unity was threatened by a grave danger from which Russia appears to be free, for in spite of the revolutionary ardour the forces of reaction were powerful, and much of the new energy had to be wasted in the effort to combat them. But the old régime in Russia seems to be absolutely dead. All parties and classes are at one in their zeal for the revolution, and have had an opportunity, rarely vouchsafed to any nation, of acting together with a common purpose. Yet the movement which unified France, in spite of distractions, has blown Russia to pieces.

The reasons usually given for the different results of the

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two revolutions cannot, therefore, be regarded as adequate. Indeed the more we consider the problem the more we are compelled to seek its solution in the fundamental differences of the French and Russian peoples. It has been too readily assumed in modern political writings that 18th century France was an average human society, and that the experiment which was first attempted there must necessarily succeed, in the same manner, wherever it might be tried. Doctrinaires of all nations have been spending the last hundred years in preaching revolution as the one sovereign cure, and their text has always been France. The French achieved great things by revolution, and Turks and Mexicans and Hottentots may therefore do the same. But it is forgotten that the French were an altogether exceptional people, endowed not only with high intelligence but with a strong sense of order, a wonderful adaptability to new conditions, an instinct at once for ideas and for hard facts. It was these qualities inherent in the French people which made their revolution successful. Out of the wreck of the old system they built a new and better one, since their natural political genius was no longer warped by false traditions. It is a striking fact that the period of seeming anarchy that followed the fall of the Bastille was precisely the period in which all the foundations of modern France were laid. You seem to hear nothing all that time but the clatter of the guillotine and the wrangling of clubs and conventions; but behind it all the work of construction was ceaselessly going forward. Organizing committees were busy in every town; experts in all departments were devising new rules and methods. Out of the apparent chaos there sprang up, as if spontaneously, an efficient army, a working system of land-tenure, a comprehensive scheme of education, an arrangement of administrative districts, capable of managing their own affairs. In one sense all this was due to the revolution, without which the political gifts of the people would never have come into free play. But the revolution only brought out what was in the people, and this is bound to be true of revolution everywhere. In these days of loose thinking we pin our faith to certain catch-words—liberty, democracy, and the rest—as if these things in the abstract had some regenerating

virtue. We forget that democracy, though the best, is also the most difficult form of government, and requires a people with particular gifts and aptitudes. These, we are told, will come of their own accord with actual practice in liberty; you must venture into the water before you swim. But this sort of reasoning is deceptive. The man who jumps into deep water does not always swim.

Here, then, we must look for the vital difference between France and Russia. It would be futile to deny that in some directions the Russians are a gifted people—one of the most gifted in the world. Opportunities of culture have hitherto fallen to only a handful of them, but even so they have produced artists, writers, thinkers of the highest mark. All who know the country assure us that the qualities we admire in those outstanding Russians are typical of the people as a whole. But those very endowments which have secured the Russian his place in art and literature make him incapable of the conduct of a state. He is strongly emotional, wrapt up in dreams and theories, sensitive to all passing impressions. In the energy and initiative and practical ability which are the first demands of citizenship, he is utterly defective. He seems to be defective, too, in qualities of a higher kind without which a great nation cannot be held together. Like most emotional people he has little sense of responsibility. All that we understand by honour and duty and self-respect appears to be wanting in him, or diluted into mere sentiment. So far as one can see he is quite unaware that he has done anything peculiar in breaking his engagements, repudiating his debts, betraying his kinsmen, attacking his benefactors. His feeling about all this seems to be one of actual pride; he has shown that he has a soul above our petty conventions, and can subordinate everything to great spiritual ends. This is the famous Russian idealism—the “way of Mary”—about which our own sentimentalists have gushed so copiously for years past. Most of us would now confess a preference for the way of Martha. As this world goes you feel happier with the plain Philistine than with the idealist who, from pure and beautiful motives, stabs you in the back.

It may be concluded, then, that the rock on which the

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Russian movement has made ship-wreck is the Russian character. All the outward conditions were as favourable for Russia as for France. The Russians, too, had the inestimable advantage of a century of democratic experience, while the French had to discover their own path through uncharted seas. But they were by nature a civic people, with all the instincts of patriotism, order, self-reliance, co-operation, while the Russians are radically unfitted for political life. They suffer, as all their action for the past year has shown, not only from ignorance and immaturity, but from moral deficiencies for which there is no remedy. With such base material it is impossible to build up a free nation.

For the time being the country is still loosely held together by what remains of the old order. Railways and public works will last out a little longer; institutions are rotting, but have not quite fallen to pieces; the feeling that Russia is a single organism has been operative so long that it cannot die out in a day. But a time will come when the old frame-work utterly collapses, and one can only foresee a chaos to which the present welter is as nothing. In France the work of reconstruction went hand in hand with that of demolition from the very start, but in Russia no one, apparently, has thought of anything but of pulling down. Sooner or later, however, even chaos must end in some kind of stable condition, and we cannot but ask ourselves what will be the ultimate outcome of the Russian confusion. One thing appears certain—that the outlying provinces in Europe and Asia will seek their own salvation, apart from the former empire. They never truly belonged to it, and will not miss the opportunity of escaping from it for good. But this will still leave the huge Russian mass intact, and what will become of it is indeed a sphinx's riddle. Will it in desperation fall back on the old autocracy? Will it throw up some military dictator, who will impose at least the semblance of a settled government? Will Germany succeed in establishing a grip on the country and annex it, under some thin disguise of independence, to the Prussian group of states? Any of these things is possible, but none of them altogether likely. The autocracy, even if it were restored, would be helpless without the old administrative sys-

tem which has been shattered. A military dictatorship can hardly arise when the discipline of the army has completely broken down. As for the prospect of Germany creating a sort of Indian empire out of Russia, there is no need to be unduly anxious. The Germans are hopelessly incompetent in the management of alien races, and the Russians, as we know to our cost in Canada, are the most difficult people in the world to manage. If the Kaiser wants to try his hand at governing Russia we ought by all means to encourage him; it would be the next best thing to boiling him in oil. What outcome, then, may we anticipate to the Russian chaos? It is hazardous to make any guess, where everything is so dark; but all present signs would almost seem to indicate that Russia is trying to mould itself into a new type of state, in which regular government will be dispensed with altogether. The Western idea of the state as a single organism, controlled from a centre, has always been foreign to Russia. It was imposed by despotic Tsars on a scattered agricultural people which had no political cohesion, and which never has really accepted it. Peter the Great imported his whole state machinery from the West, and from his day till now government has been an alien innovation, which the people have secretly resented. No one who has made even a casual study of Russian literature can have missed the feeling that anarchy appeals to the Russian mind as the true social condition. Why cannot men be let alone, to till the soil and cherish their kindred and follow their natural instincts? What is the use of all this apparatus of soldiers, magistrates, tax-gatherers, which costs so much and benefits so few? To us, with our Western traditions, anarchy seems the mere negation of human society, but to the Russian, looking at life from a different angle, it is the ideal. He feels that to attain his full happiness as a human being he needs to break down this mechanism of the state, which tends to reduce him to a mere thing. This is no doubt the true explanation of the success of the Bolshevik leaders. They may be paid agents of Germany, or simply lunatics at large, but in any case they have caught the idea which is bound up somehow with the Russian nature. The people, apparently, cannot choose but follow them, as the children followed the pied piper. Their

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tuneless jargon speaks to the Russian of his Paradise—the state in which there is no government, in which every man owns his piece of land and has no duties outside of it. This is the goal, whether it is attainable or not, to which Russia is now travelling, more or less consciously. Perhaps in a vast territory like Russia it is more capable of attainment than we might think. It will mean the end of great cities, of railways, factories, national institutions, of all that we understand by civilization and the larger life. But we can still imagine a Russia consisting of a vast agglomerate of peasant communities, each sufficing for its own simple needs and providing a tolerable human existence for its members. If it could be left to itself Russia would not improbably subside into an anarchic society of this kind; and the mass of the people would be happier under these conditions than under any others. But unfortunately there are hungry nations on every side of her which an idyllic Russia would have to reckon with. The war, to be sure, may result in some self-denying ordinance which will secure the fixity of landmarks for all time to come. Otherwise, the Russian sheep-fold will offer a strong temptation to the wolves.

Whatever may be the outcome of the upheaval, we cannot expect that it will have anything like the significance of the French revolution. Modern history may be said to open with the destruction of the old order in France. It was then that the world broke with the tradition of the Middle Ages and began to rebuild itself on new foundations. The social and political movement was at the same time a spiritual one, and made its influence felt in philosophy and art and literature, in religion, in all the activities and outlooks of civilized men. The Russian revolution can have no such consequences for the world as a whole. It is the movement not of a daring vanguard but of a lagging regiment which tries, by a forced march, to overtake the main army. There are those, indeed, who would have us regard the events in Russia as the raising of a curtain on a new act in the world's history. We are entering, they believe, on the socialistic age, on the period when labour will not only assert its rights, but will take all power into its own hands. Russia has set the example which will presently be

followed in all countries, and our armies will be commanded by private soldiers, our banks administered by the office-boys, our Universities conducted solely by the janitors. It is certainly to be expected that society will everywhere be reorganized on new lines after the war, and the dispossessed classes will assume rights and privileges which are long over-due. But this change would have come about without Russia, and will rather be hindered than assisted by her example. Even the enthusiasts for liberty will move more cautiously after watching the spectacle of those drunken helots, who for the time being have made liberty ridiculous and shameful. In any case it is hard to see how the Russian ideas can do much to help forward the larger development. They have grown out of conditions peculiar to Russia, and if they are practicable at all can only be applied in a country like Russia, which has not yet emerged from the primitive agricultural phase. That these ideas will have much effect on the West is altogether unlikely. For a time they may create a ferment among the masses, especially in countries bordering on Russia; but they are radically alien to the Western mind, and will have little practical influence. So far as they correspond with the Sermon on the Mount, we may be trusted not to take them too seriously. So far as they imply a mere revolt against all authority, our record is likewise reassuring. The West has always stood for freedom within the limits of civic order, and cannot conceive of freedom on any other terms. It will never fall back on anarchy as the final solution of all its problems.

E. F. SCOTT.

CANADIAN LIBRARY OF RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.*

THERE has just come to hand the first volume of a new series that is to be produced entirely in Canada; a list of the books promised is not given with this opening volume but we understand that a variety of subjects will be treated by competent scholars. Some of these are men of English or Scotch birth whose work has been in connection with Canadian Universities and Churches; many, however, are men whose life and work has been wholly within the Dominion. It seems to us to be a good idea, and as the aim of the writers will be to throw the light of history and literature on the problems of to-day, it is appropriate that the first volume should take us back to the fight for religious purity and moral rectitude waged by the Prophets of Israel.

The editors whose names are given here are the Rev. G. G. Pidgeon, D.D.; the Rev. R. E. Welsh, D.D.; Professor W. S. Milner, M.A.; and the Rev. Herbert Symonds, D.D. It is probable that a volume from the pen of each will appear later in the series. They make the following statement: "The Canadian Library of Religious Literature is an attempt to make a distinctively Canadian contribution to the thought of to-day. Canada is rising to national self-consciousness and is developing a type of thought and expression peculiarly her own. Many of the founders of the Church and of the pioneers of learning in this new land have passed away without leaving in any permanent form their message to the times. The thought and life of the whole Church are the poorer because of this failure. The men of to-day have a message that the nation needs in these stirring times, and we believe that the readers of other lands will be interested in what they have to say."

Dr. Gordon's volume shows a high standard of scholarship and literary excellence, though one cannot expect any distinctively Canadian flavour in a book of this kind. The intelligent

*The Prophets of the Old Testament by Alex. R. Gordon, D. Litt., D.D., Professor of Hebrew, McGill University, and of Old Testament Literature and Exegesis, Presbyterian College, Montreal. (Hodder & Stoughton, pp. 356).

that may be applied to our own political life but that is not the purpose of the author who seeks to show how the prophets preached to their own times rather than to give direct sermons to the readers of to-day. As we have not space for an elaborate review we may allow Professor Gordon to state in his own words the purpose of his exposition.

“Perhaps the most conspicuous gain of recent study of the Old Testament has been the re-discovery of the prophets. Preacher and the social reformer can easily find here principles. For centuries these were but honoured names, the bearers of certain golden words that shone out lustrous over the ages, while their own personalities remained in shadow. Now the prophets stand in the clear light of history, as the great figures of the ancient Revelation, the men through whose word and influence the vision broadened towards the perfect day. But they are no mere historical figures. As poets, preachers, moralists, statesmen, seers and reformers—heralds of the Coming Kingdom—above all, as men of God, who knew His mind, and walked with Him in spirit and truth, they are abiding fountains of inspiration for those who seek after righteousness.”

“Individual prophets have received brilliant exposition at the hands of English speaking scholars. There is still room, however, for a comprehensive treatment of the subject which allows the prophets to speak for themselves. The present volume seeks to fulfil this task within necessary limits. The course of prophecy is traced from its first morning beams, till the light disappears in the rosy flush of apocalypse, the prophets are set in the background of their time, and portrayed in their sharply contrasted personality and experience, but the stress throughout is laid on translations of their most significant utterances, which reproduce as nearly as possible the sense and rhythm of the original.”

For this task Professor A. R. Gordon has the necessary equipment in good measure, linguistic knowledge, acquaintance with critical literature, sympathy with the prophets’ style and spirit; he has produced a good book which may be cordially recommended not merely to theological students but to all who are interested in the larger life of humanity.

W. G. J.

TROTZKY.

NEVER have war and revolution thrust to the surface a more astounding figure than Leon Trotzky. They may yet have many dramatic surprises in store, but it is doubtful if any can surpass in momentous interest the fate that within a year carried this obscure denizen of New York's East Side to the pedestal at Petrograd from which he harangued the world. Fortunately, enough is known of the man and his opinions to make possible some approximate understanding of his policy.*

Leber Bronstein, who, like most Russian revolutionaries, has found it healthy to have a pen name, in this case Leon Trotzky, (also, by the way, a Jewish name), is barely forty. He belongs to the race which has given the world both the Rothschilds and the Marxes, the typical capitalists and the most unyielding opponents of capitalism. After a brief and broken course at the University of Odessa, he threw himself in 1897 into the underground revolutionary activities of the socialist movement. Arrested in January, 1898, he spent two and a half years in prison, and was then exiled to Northern Siberia. He escaped after two years, and spent the next two or three years in Russia and in the revolutionary committees on the Continent, endeavoring to strengthen the organization and tactics of the Russian Social Democratic party. During the Revolution of 1905, Trotzky forged to the front. He became the second chairman of the St. Petersburg Soviet, or Workmen's Council. When the government got back its nerve and its troops, the Revolution was crushed, and Trotzky with his Soviet comrades was condemned to four hundred days in prison. Here it was that he wrote many of the articles now brought together in *Our Revolution*. This sentence served, he was exiled to Odborsk, on the Siberian Arctic, "forever." Watching his chance as day after day the prison sledges dragged through the desolate

*Trotzky, *Our Revolution*. (New York: Henry Holt, 1918).

Trotzky, *The Bolsheviks and World Peace*. (New York, Boni and Liveright, 1918).

The Secret Treaties as Revealed at Petrograd, with preface by Trotzky. (Manchester Guardian; New York Evening Post, 1918).

wastes of snow, cheered only by an occasional red flag waved by a wayside fellow exile, Trotzky managed to escape. Leaving the road, he crossed an unbroken wilderness of 800 versts on an Ostiak sleigh, drawn by reindeer, and eventually made his way, apparently through Turkey, to Vienna. In 1912 he served as a war correspondent in the Balkan campaign. On the outbreak of the present war he was forced to leave Austria, and went first to Zurich, where the pamphlet, *The War and Internationalism*, now translated under the somewhat misleading title, *The Bolsheviks and World Peace*, was written as an indictment of the German and Austrian majority Socialists. Then he went to Paris, where his internationalist views found short shrift. Even Spain, probably at the instigation of the Russian Foreign Office, would not harbour him long, and in the winter of 1916-17 he came to New York. There he picked up a precarious livelihood writing for local Russian and Jewish papers, living with his family in a Bronx flat, and buying on the instalment plan the furniture for which he was, some months ago, still sending remittances from Petrograd. At the outbreak of the Revolution New York comrades subscribed to send him back to Russia. He was detained at Halifax as a suspicious character, but allowed to proceed. Once in Russia, his experience and force of character brought him rapidly to leadership of the extreme left wing of the Social Democrats. With the triumph of the Bolsheviks in November, 1917, he was made one of the Cabinet or People's Commissaries, and as Foreign Minister became better, or at least more widely, known abroad than even his leader, Lenine.

It may be well here to note the various factions into which the Russian Socialist movement was divided at the time of the Revolution. The main group was the Social Democratic Labor Party, founded by Plekhanoff in 1884, on a straight Marxian platform. The Social Democrats made their appeal mainly to the town workingmen, distrusting the bourgeois even as temporary allies and despising the peasants. In their convention in 1903, a dispute arose which eventually led to a permanent split in the party. The two factions, the Bolsheviks or majority, led by Lenine, a revolutionary scion of the lesser nobility, and the Mensheviks or minority, led by Plekhanoff, Kameneff, Mar-

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toff, Alexinsky, Tchcheidze, Tseretelli and others still active in Petrograd, had at first divided on a question of organization, but soon revealed wide difference in theory and tactics. The Mensheviks expected the social revolution to follow after a political revolution in which the Socialists could and should fight side by side with the liberal bourgeoisie; they distrusted the peasants, fearing they would be blind agents of autocracy. The Bolsheviks insisted that the bourgeois would never share in a real revolution and that the workingmen of the cities alone, with some support from the peasants, could overthrow both their political and their economic masters in one sudden blow. The Mensheviks soon became the larger faction, but the old names have persisted. The second large party, the Social Revolutionaries, found its constituency chiefly among the peasants and the more radical elements of the bourgeoisie, rather than among the city workingmen. Their main demand was the equal division of all the land among the peasants, and their tactics the continuance of the old terrorist activities of Nihilist days. They, too, were divided into two groups, the Minimalists, or opportunist faction, and the Maximalists, a small minority who developed anarchistic leanings. The revelation in 1909 that the head of the secret terrorist organization of the Social Revolutionary party, Evno Azeff, was really a government spy, an *agent provocateur*, shook the party to its foundations and led to a general abandonment of terrorist activities. Since the Revolution, the Minimalists have split into three factions, a pro-war and nationalist wing led by Catherine Breshkovsky, the moderate and internationalist centre, led by Tchernof, who headed the opposition to the Bolsheviks in the brief session of the Constituent Assembly, and the extreme left wing, led by Marie Spiridonova. This latter faction of late has co-operated with the Bolsheviks. Besides these two main parties, there was a third organization, the Group of Toil or Labor Party, half-socialist in its leanings, and recruited mainly from the peasants. Its leader was Alexander Kerensky.

What is the key to the actions of Trotzky? A few months ago the popular explanation was that he was a German spy. There is no doubt that the revolutionary movement in Russia has been honey-combed by German agents, and that German

money and German intrigue have done much to make the confusion worse confounded. There is no doubt also, that even among the real revolutionary leaders some may have accepted German funds or German facilities without scruple, turning them to their own ends. Yet a study of the Russian revolutionary movement, and particularly a realization of the remarkable degree in which the present revolution is merely a continuance of that 1905 Revolution when Czar and Kaiser were hand in glove, makes it clear that the explanation of German intrigue does not fit the facts. So far as Trotzky at least is concerned, there is every indication that his acts are those not of a hireling but of a bitterly sincere fanatic.

The only remarkable feature in the policy of Trotzky and his Petrograd associates is that they are practising what they have preached. For years the world has seen socialist leaders fade from a violent red to a pale pink as they neared the flesh-pots of office. From Burns to Briand growing power has brought sobering responsibility, moderation, compromise. In this case, the transition from prison to power has been so brief that no opportunist tendencies had time to sprout. The iron of Russian absolutism had eaten deep into the souls of the leaders.* The tendency to uncompromising doctrinairism, whether racial or the outcome of the ban on practical activity, played its part. Whatever the explanation, the fact remains that for the first time in history Socialist leaders have endeavored, and in large measure with success, to put into force the whole gospel of Marx, undiluted and unexpugnated.

The aim of the Bolshevik wing of the Russian Social Democrats was the complete socialization of the means of production. Their tactics were, the organization of the urban workingmen into a strong class-conscious force, leading up to

*Writing of a convention of the Social Democratic party held in 1907, in Stockholm, Trotzky declares: "The Convention as a whole, in the person of its 140 members had spent in prison 138 years. The Convention had been in exile 148 years. Escaped from prison, once, eighteen members; twice, four members. Escaped from exile, once, twenty-three; twice, five; three times, one member. Fifty thousand days and nights behind iron bars, and more than that in exile in barbarous corners of the country."

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a general strike or armed insurrection, and the immediate proclamation of a labor dictatorship. The obvious practical objection to this programme was that in Russia the city working-men were in a small minority, smaller even than in countries more advanced along capitalist lines. Should they and could they dictate to the whole people? As to the first question, Trotzky and his fellows, like the Syndicalists in France, made a virtue of necessity, developing the theory that the minority is always right, that the mass are dull, inert, ignorant, and that in all kindness to them the few who know what is good for all should act on their certainty without waiting to persuade the human zeros. As to the second question, Trotzky makes an acute answer. He points out that until of late Russian towns have been administrative rather than industrial centres, and never contained the prosperous, efficient and self-assured artisans who elsewhere in Europe have been the real foundation of the middle class. When in the last few decades modern capitalism appeared on the scene in Russia and "turned large villages into modern industrial centres almost over night," it had no middle-class to build on. Russian cities therefore contain great numbers of workingmen and small groups of capitalists, the latter further weakened by the fact that the capital is largely imported. "Thus while a large proportion of the capital operating in Russia exerts its political influence in the parliaments of Belgium or France, the working class employed by the same capital exert their entire influence in the political life of Russia. Nothing stood between the workingmen and absolutism but a small class of capitalists, half foreign in its origin, devoid of historic traditions, animated solely by a hunger for profits." Thus the workingmen could control the cities, and in Russia, formless, sprawling, unorganized, the cities would control the country. The peasants could be brought to support the revolution by promise of state or community assumption of the large estates, though the leadership and direction would remain with the city workingmen. Carrying out a maxim of Karl Marx, who insisted that just as the bourgeois had developed parliament, the workingmen must develop their own organs of control, Trotzky further contended that it would be through Soviets or Councils of Workmen's and Peasants' Dele-

gates, subject to recall, that the revolutionary forces would rule.

To a remarkable extent this programme has already been carried out. The revolution, while it had the sympathy of all but the reactionary classes, was brought on when it did come by the insistence of the urban masses and in spite of the advice of the bourgeois Liberals to wait until the coming of peace. In the confusion that followed, the small organized socialist minority, following much the tactics Trotzky urged, have assumed complete control of Great Russia, and proved once more that a few men who know what they want can dominate the many who do not. The development of the Soviets and Congresses, the socialization of land, the confiscation of the banks, the repudiation of external and internal loans, the setting up of revolutionary tribunals in place of the old courts, are instances of the length to which the theories of the extremists have already been carried into effect. Surprising and unwelcome as it may be, the more reliable observers seem to believe that for the present at least these extremists have the masses behind them, though others do not despair that the more moderate elements represented in the Constituent Assembly will soon rally a majority to the cause of saner freedom.

With our half knowledge of what is occurring in Russia and our unconscious prejudices in interpreting it, it is difficult to divide responsibility for the excesses of the revolution. Some, idealizing the revolutions by which other lands attained liberty, would lay the blame on race. Others would lay it on the tyranny of the old regime, which kept Russia backward, poverty stricken, ignorant, corrupt, and prevented that gradual development of self-government which might have avoided the blinding and intoxicating effects of sudden freedom. The war itself and the heritage of disorganization it had left have also been a factor. Yet no small share of the responsibility must fall upon the men, honest though they may have been, who have preached and practised the doctrine of class war and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Those of us who have hitherto been opposed to the programme of state control of all industry, to policies based upon class hatred and class rule, to assaults upon democracy from whatever quarter, are not likely

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to have our faith shaken by this exhibition of Marxian socialism in practice. It may be surmised that just as in Canada co-operation, as practised by the western farmers, has been immensely more successful than any experiment in government ownership ever tried here, so in Russia the co-operative societies, which have had so remarkable a development in the past five years, and which are well adapted to the temperament and traditions of the people, will play a larger part in the reconstruction of the country than the central government.

To most of us, it is the bearing of the Revolution and of Bolshevik tactics on the war, not on Russia's internal situation that is of primary interest. To us, the Revolution is an episode in the war. To the Russian Socialists from the outset, and to most Russians to-day, the war has been an incident affecting the Revolution.

In *The Bolsheviks and World Peace* Trotzky gives the orthodox socialist interpretation of the war, as the inevitable outcome of capitalist rivalry, a sign that "the forces of production which capitalism has evolved have outgrown the limits of nation and state." Many Socialists, from this same basis, have gone on to assert that all the belligerents are on the same level, all equally blameworthy or equally free from blame as being mere blind agents of an economic fatalism. Trotzky does not take that stand. He hopes that the war will break down Czarism, but he is equally hopeful that it will break down Hohenzollern and Hapsburg. The book was written, in fact, in criticism of the majority Socialists of Germany and Austria, and in answer to their hypocritical plea that Germany was going to free Russia from her tyrants. "The fate of the Russian Revolution," he declares, "is so inseparably bound up with the fate of European socialism, and we Russian socialists stand so firmly on the ground of internationalism that we cannot, we must not for a moment, entertain the idea of purchasing the doubtful liberation of Russia by the certain destruction of the liberty of Belgium and France and—what is more important still—thereby inoculating the German and Austrian proletariat with the virus of imperialism." German victory, he insists, would mean the strangling of western liberty, and the perpetuation of chaos in south-eastern Europe, with "the German

working class feeding itself, materially and spiritually, on the crumbs from the table of victorious imperialism.”*

Trotzky would delight Cheradame by his insistence that Austria-Hungary must be broken up. Russia and the Czardom are not identical; “whatever may be the fate of various parts of present Russia,—Russian Poland, Finland, the Ukraine or Bessarabia—” declares Trotzky in a sentence doubly significant because written three years ago, “European Russia will not cease to exist as the national territory of a many-millioned race that has made notable conquests along the line of cultural development during the last quarter century.” But Austria-Hungary stands or falls with the Hapsburgs. It exists only for dynastic reasons. “Austria-Hungary is indispensable to Germany, to the ruling class in Germany as we know it. When the Junkers threw France into the hands of Czarism by the forceful annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, and systematically embittered the relations with England by rapidly increasing naval armaments; when it repulsed all attempts at an understanding with the western democracies because such an understanding would have implied the democratization of Germany, then this ruling class saw itself compelled to seek support from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy as a reserve source of military strength against the enemies in east and west. According to the German point of view the mission of the Dual Monarchy was to place Hungarian, Polish, Roumanian, Czech, Ruthenian, Servian and Italian auxiliaries in the service of the German military and Junker policy.”

Trotzky scores the German and Austrian majority Socialists for their tame acceptance of the Junker programme. He traces their betrayal to its root in the opportunism of peace times, the Revisionist movement of the past decade, the pre-occupation with machinery and organization and the fear of risking the structure that had been built up. “And so the *Vorwärts* now lives,” he declares in one of many biting passages, “as two-paged evidence of the unlimited brutality of

*Lenine, writing in Switzerland at the same time, took different ground, insisting that the defeat of Russia by Germany would help the Revolution by breaking down Czarism.

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Junkerdom in Berlin and in Louvain, and of the unlimited opportunism of the German Social democracy . . . Had the *Vorwärts* remained under interdiction . . . that would have been far more honorable than to continue to exist with the imprint of the General's boots on its forehead."

But if Trotzky agrees with us in this view of the need of smashing German and Austrian imperialism, he differs in his view as to how it is to be done. It must come, he insists, not by war but by revolution. Even ten years ago he wrote that the only way to ensure the survival of a socialist revolution in Russia was to spread revolution through the rest of Europe. Doubly now he urges revolution, alike to safeguard the Russian gains, to effect the overthrow of German imperialism and to bring peace to a weary world. He would fight national war by class war. It was with this aim in view that he sought to turn the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk into an audacious appeal to the working classes of Germany and Austria to overthrow their governments. The attempt failed; words did not conquer cannon. The German masses were still too content to "pick up the crumbs from the table of imperialism." Russia's weakness was too clear. The army, wearied by three years of war and by losses that exceeded those of all the other Allies, disheartened by the corruption and treachery of the Court, demoralized by the slackening of discipline when the Revolution burst, was in no shape to resist. The border provinces were falling away. In Poland and Finland and the Ukraine some of the Czar's chickens had come home to roost in the revolutionary hen coops: the shameless breaking of faith, the tyrannical oppression which marked the old Russian government, and which had continued even during the war, when the Russian conquerors of Galicia had suppressed the Ruthenian language and persecuted the native church, had made them eager to revolt—and Austrian intrigue had been as busy in the Ukraine as Russian in Servia. Germany, too, had played the same game as Trotzky in appealing to class feeling. When the Bolsheviks endeavored to thrust their red gospel on the outlying lands, Germany joined forces with their upper classes to combat this plague. When the middle-class Ukrainian Rada made terms with Germany, Trotzky's bluff

was called, and the humiliating peace followed. Even then Trotzky was eager to fight, but Lenine, insisting that phrases and heroics would not stop shrapnel, overruled him and the peace-hungry masses had their way.

What has been the bearing of the Revolution and especially of the activities of the extreme wing on the cause for which we are fighting? The Allies are fighting to make an end of war and chaos, of brutal and aggressive militarism, of the rule of cynical and faithless force. Has New Russia advanced or hindered that aim?

The immediate and most serious danger to the world's peace came from Germany and her satellites. Undoubtedly Russia's falling away has made it much harder to defeat German aggression. Peace on the east front has stiffened the resistance of the German people and set free hundreds of thousands of the troops that have been dealing death and destruction to our men these past few weeks in Picardy and Flanders. Yet had there been no revolution there seems little doubt that the Russian court would long before this have made a separate peace with Germany, and whatever be the danger for the future, in the immediate present Germany might more easily have gained aid and supplies from the organized bureaucratic Czardom than from the chaotic and demoralized Russia of the Bolsheviks. Even if nothing comes of Trotzky's appeal to German and Austrian workingmen—and in Austria at least some of the seed fell on fertile ground—the case seems not so much worse than it would have been if Willy and Nicky had come to terms as Sturmer and Protopopoff were negotiating.

More remote but still threatening was the danger of Russian imperialism. The defeat of Germany would have left the world uneasy so long as the old Russia remained. Nor was the danger only from Czardom; Miliukov and the bourgeois government which first held the reins, were fully as imperialist, fully as eager to expand toward Constantinople and Persia and in Asia Minor. That danger is gone, with a vengeance. The bogey of Slav aggression will not again for many a year enable German Junkers to scare their people into submission, nor threaten the liberal west. If the Russians have not been able

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or willing to end the German danger, they have emphatically removed the Russian danger.

To the broader question of the means of securing a durable peace the Russians have also made their contribution. Their formula, "no punitive indemnities, no annexations, the right of self-determination," has been echoed round the world. Its strength lies in its emphasis on the absolute necessity of ceasing to treat any people or any section of territory as a mere pawn to be moved about on the diplomatic chess-board, a counter to be played regardless of the will of the people concerned. Its weakness is two-fold. As to the end, it overlooks the difficulty of deciding where to draw the line in self-determination; carried to its logical extreme it would mean anarchy, an infinite series of hivings off of minorities. As to the means, it fails to provide any adequate way of enforcing its ideal. At Brest-Litovsk the Russians had the best of the argument by far, but the Germans had their way.

There have been many solutions put forward for securing a lasting peace. Several find the only solution in some form of world over-lordship. The Prussian plan is the simple one of world dominance: with one master there can be no rivalry or unrest. The Bolshevik plan is world revolution and the proletariat in control the world over: with a socialist regime in every country, the capitalist motive to war would vanish, and of course socialists never fight among themselves. Mr. Bourassa's plan is to turn back the hands of the clock a few centuries and let the Pope dictate peace to a repentant and submissive world.

Then, again, many have found the solution in the balance of power, in rival leagues and alliances, in strategic frontiers, in every nation making itself stronger than every other. This was the principle that underlay the secret treaties concluded by the Allies in 1915 and 1916 and made public by Trotzky as soon as he secured control of the archives of Petrograd. With Russia in Constantinople, with Italy in Dalmatia, with England in Persia, with France in Syria and the Saar, it was hoped the alliance would be cemented firmly and each country strengthened against possible attack. Why is it that the greater part of these agreements have already been consigned to the scrap

heap, and that in their place we have had from Mr. Lloyd-George and President Wilson statements of war aims based on widely different principles, aims whose justice, expediency and necessity are beyond successful challenge? There are many reasons; that imperial Russia is now out of the allied councils and democratic America is in; that recent events in Italy have made it necessary and possible for Italians and South Slavs to come together on a programme giving more adequate recognition to the claims of nationality in the Adriatic region; that 'idealists', like President Wilson, General Smuts, Pierre Renaudel are now supplementing 'realists', like Baron Sonnino, Lord Milner, President Poincaré. But the fundamental reason is that the sacrifices and teachings of the war itself have brought about a new spirit, or at least made it clear that new forms of expression for the old spirit must be sought. The banding together of the free peoples in the endeavor to police the world is evidence that the old ideas either of overlordship or of reliance on single and isolated preparation against rivals are passing away. As the last "Round Table" well observes in its leading article:

Perhaps the most significant development of the past winter has been the growth of the sentiment that this war is in essence a war against militarism in all its forms, in the common phrase a war against war, and that somehow or other the outcome must be such as will provide effective guarantees against another such war in the future. The dominant feeling to-day among all nations which have seriously felt the war is that there is far more at stake than the attainment of the limited objects with which they entered it, and that nothing can compensate them for the sacrifices they have made, save that thereby mankind should be freed forever from liability to the appalling catastrophe of the past three years.

The same conclusion as to the broadening aims of the Allies has been put effectively by General Smuts:

The suffering of multitudes is slowly but surely working a great psychological change, which will lead to results far beyond any that were contemplated at the beginning of the war. However hard we are striving for victory—and victory to my mind is essential for a well-ordered, lasting peace—we should not aim merely at a military victory but still more at such a moral victory as will become a stedfast basis for the new order of things.

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This could be done by making people realise the fundamental ideals which underlie our essential war aims. If we are to achieve the permanent destruction of that military Imperialism which has drifted from the past like a monstrous iceberg into our modern life, we must create a new temperature, a new atmosphere for Democracy, and strengthen the forces of freedom and national government and self-development at the same time that we work for the free co-operation of the nations in future, in pursuing the common ideals of a peaceful civilisation. Military imperialism, more briefly called Prussianism, was one method to counteract the anarchy of the individual sovereign states of modern Europe—a very disastrous method. For it there will have to be substituted a new method, based on a powerful and widespread public opinion, which will reconcile the individual freedom of states with co-operative machinery in the first instance for the preservation of peace, and later for securing other essential common aims of civilisation. The method of subjection by force will have to give way to the method of co-operation on the basis of freedom. My hope is that these ideas will more and more mark the goal, at which we are constantly aiming through this tragedy of sorrow, and will give us that inner strength and resolution which will enable the Allied Democracies to hold on till victory is achieved. We shall then fight on, not in a dull, desperate spirit for low material ends, but in a conscious, joyous co-operation with the spiritual forces of progress toward a better future for man.

Some months ago Mr. Balfour stated concisely the three conditions of a durable peace. "The first is that the aggressive aims and unscrupulous methods of the Central Powers should fall into disrepute among their own peoples." Trotzky has sought to secure this end by preaching revolution. Unfortunately the German people have had any latent revolutionary tendencies drill-sergeanted out of them for generations, and most of them are only too willing to accept "the crumbs from the tables of militarism," so long as any fall. The Independent Socialists are doing courageous and effective work but they are still a minority and will remain one so long as Germany is not defeated in the field and the prestige of her militarist clique smashed forever. President Wilson, stedfast in telling the German people that a Germany repentant and reformed will receive different treatment from a Germany still aggressive and stiff-necked, has also been stedfast in insisting that to bring about this change of heart, to drive the wedge between

the mass of the people and their Junker rulers, unrelenting pressure from without must be applied. Mr. Balfour's second condition is "that existing causes of international unrest should be as far as possible removed or weakened." In so far as the Russians oppose secret diplomacy, the tyranny of one nationality or one class over another, the scramble for economic monopoly and concession privileges, they are, we believe, on the right track, but so long as they merely substitute tyranny of one class for tyranny of another they will not bring the world nearer peace. Mr. Balfour's third condition is "that behind international law and behind all treaty arrangements for preventing or limiting hostilities some form of international sanction should be devised which should give pause to the hardest aggressor." In this quarter, where the most promising and significant change in men's opinion has come about, the Bolsheviks have nothing constructive to offer.

It is not well to despair of Russia. So far as her internal organization goes, we must remember that every great revolution is marked by excesses and the temporary domination of extremists, particularly so when millions of men have been held for centuries in ignorance and superstition. It is well to remember how completely and how fatally the rulers of Europe failed to understand the French Revolution, and to remember that just as Burke could weep buckets over the sufferings of a beautiful Queen and shut his eyes to the oppression endured for generations by millions of peasants, so there are some to-day in Europe who rightly criticize the tyranny of the many over the few in Russia but who have forgotten the long tyranny of the few over the many. In judging the excesses of the Revolution, it is needful to bear in mind the excesses of the Rasputins and Protopopoffs and the Empress, the directors of the pogroms and the leaders of the Black Hundred. In time it may be expected that the saner and more constructive elements in Russia will secure control, even though the social order that will remain is likely to differ materially from that of western Europe. And as to Russia's attitude in the war, deeply disappointed and hampered as we have been by her defection, some of the Allied leaders apparently hope that even

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yet it may be roused to resist Prussian aggression. It is only a hope, but there is this at least to be said in favor of the Revolution, that to-day, whatever may have been the attitude yesterday, Germany hates it and seeks to destroy it. The distraction the Revolution caused has played into Germany's hands, but there can be no permanent harmony between the Prussian Junker and the Russian workingman. Germany and the classes in Finland and the Baltic Provinces that have similar ideals will try to extirpate every trace of democracy in politics or industry. Sooner or later that will be borne home to the most benighted or most doctrinaire Bolsheviki. It is the hard task of Allied diplomacy, facing present facts, not indulging in vain if just regrets, to try to make it sooner. Russia, with all her failings, must still be given a chance to work out her own salvation. That chance will be secured when victory on the west front enables the Allies to tear up the agreements Germany has forced in the east.

O. D. SKELTON.

SHOULD MAXIMUM PRICES BE FIXED?

SIXTY years ago it was said that if you could teach a parrot to repeat the words "supply and demand" you would have a first rate economist. The gibe was not wholly undeserved, for the law of supply and demand had been made to work overtime and as currently stated was meaningless. Economists have long since atoned for the fault and few to-day are blind worshippers of the old laissez-faire policy. Since the war, however, the cheap trick of scoffing at supply and demand has become the fad with a certain class of newspaper and politician who fail to understand the law or indeed the nature of any economic law, forgetting apparently that such a law is a mere statement of observed tendency rather than the arbitrary decree of any group of reactionary economists. To-day the economist who fails to acknowledge the "repeal" or breakdown of this old formula is ridiculed in the press for teaching "untimely economic doctrine," and at once forfeits all chances of becoming Food Controller.

In view of such popular misunderstandings, a word as to the explanation of prices may not be out of place. Value is a rate of exchange between goods; a good has value in proportion to its power to purchase other goods in the market. Price is merely value expressed in terms of money. The old formula that price was determined by supply and demand explains little, if anything, by itself. No light is thrown upon the problem of prices until we explain the nature of supply and demand, the forces acting behind and determining them, and the precise way in which they do operate on prices. Demand is popularly supposed to mean desire for a good; as some one has shown, however, the street urchin with his nose glued to the window of the candy store represents desire enough for the sugar-stick but no demand—until that desire is backed up by ability and willingness to pay the penny. Demand for a good, therefore, is the amount that will be bought at a price, or rather at each of a series of prices. Similarly dependent on price, the supply of any commodity is the amount that will be offered at each of a series of prices. Thanks to the existing inequality of incomes and to the diminishing satisfactions

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which we all experience in consuming successive units of a stock, we find that more units of any commodity will be bought if the price is lowered, less will be bought if the price is raised. Therefore if sellers wish to induce buyers to take more of their product, they must reduce its price. To what extent will depend on whether the demand for the good is elastic or rigid—whether, as in the case of luxuries, it increases very rapidly as price falls, or whether, as in the case of a necessary like bread, it fails to respond as readily to the pull of lower price.

Turning to the supply side, if consumers want more of any commodity, they must offer a higher price; if they want less, they will probably be able to force prices down. Here again, the extent of the change in price will depend on the nature of the industry, whether it is such as to involve increased cost per unit for an enlarged output, or constant cost, or decreased cost. Thus if consumers desire more wheat or coal or copper some or all of the additional units will be produced under less favorable cost conditions and a considerable increase in price will be necessary to coax the necessary supplies. In any case, if the market is an open one, a price will be established which will bring about an equilibrium or balancing of supply and demand. The amount demanded by the buyers at this price will just equal the amount offered by the seller at the same price. Everyone will be satisfied. If the price were lower, some consumers would not secure all they wanted at the low price; if it were higher some sellers would be left with stock on their hands. Price then at any one time serves to equate demand with the supply available in the market. Over a period of time it provides an *automatic indicator* for producers and dealers to follow. Rising prices attract capital, labor, or goods; falling prices are a sign of warning. This analysis assumes of course the active organizing agency of competition, the ceaseless striving of men after a maximum return to their exertions. We must, however, make the proper allowances for those cases where competition has given place to monopoly, and for the motivating power of patriotism, and the other social economic values which tend to counterbalance self-interest; but when all has been said and done, Adam Smith's familiar dictum remains unshaken, "It is not from the benevo-

lence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest." With relatively few exceptions, they best serve their own interest who serve ours best. The reward for success in anticipating and satisfying our wants is great, the penalty for failure is economic death.

Besides organising production and arranging for the geographical distribution of goods, price performs a very important function in regulating consumption and distributing the available supply evenly over a period of time. This can best be illustrated by considering the work of the speculators who are now being branded as criminals because they hold back goods for higher prices. A moment's consideration will show that these much-maligned individuals, while serving themselves, also render important service to the public. Our crops, for instance, are harvested in a few weeks each year, yet everyone will admit the desirability of distributing these crops as evenly as possible over the succeeding months until the next harvest. It is much less disagreeable to live on three-quarter's of one's usual quantity steadily throughout the year than to have the usual quantity for the first six months and only half the usual quota for the remainder of the year. Someone must therefore assume the risk, responsibility, and capital outlay involved in holding commodities in order to perform this important function. Whoever accepts this risk of price fluctuation, whether he be farmer or middleman or consumer, is a speculator. The better organized trades develop a specially selected and specially trained class of risk-takers and provide elaborate machinery to aid them in studying market conditions. These men are constantly appraising the various factors affecting supply and demand and their competition in buying or selling determines the price level which in turn governs the distribution of the crop and promotes a uniform consumption of the crop throughout the year. If the price is held too high during the following months, the crop is not used up fast enough and the "market breaks" during the following winter or spring. If the price is kept too low in the early months, too much of the year's supply is consumed and when this is realized, the price begins to soar, as it did in the

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case of potatoes in the spring of 1917. Potatoes were sold at too low a price the preceding fall and by January 1, only about 30 per cent. of the United States' crop remained. As 15 per cent. of this remnant was in farmers' hands, the farmers were the chief speculators. The shrewder the speculators are in forecasting future prices, the more nearly will the daily market prices conform to that price which would promote a uniform consumption of the crop throughout the season. While there is undoubtedly a large amount of blind speculation or pure gambling by mere "hangers-on" of the business, the legitimate speculators perform their function with unusual efficiency, and over a period of years it is doubtful if their profits are more than enough to pay for the services performed. To take only one instance, Prof. Weld of Yale has found that those who held potatoes in half of the last 10 years lost money by so doing. Of course there is the danger that some big operator will "corner" the market or that a small group of dealers may get control of supply and illegitimately boost prices. But at this point we need only say that successful corners are exceptionally rare, that they can be effected only with the utmost difficulty, that their effects in the past have been only temporary and confined almost wholly to other speculators, and that the commercial penalty for unsuccessful corners is so severe as to be more deterrent than any legal penalty would be.

So much is an indispensable basis for any understanding of prices and the price system. For prices do constitute a system. Value and price are relative terms; many goods are substitutes for others; almost every good, on the supply side, has genetic relationships with other goods, having been made out of them or of the same materials or supplied by the same set of enterprisers; business competition, again, in seeking highest profits, is constantly changing the relative supply of commodities so as to bring about a balance on the basis of cost prices. Because of these and a myriad of other factors, the prices of all goods and services are knit together into a highly complex system, "a system infinitely flexible in detail yet stable in the essential balance of its relations, a system like a living organism in its ability to recover from the serious dis-

orders into which it periodically falls."* It is remarkable how little understood this price system is, yet no other institution so intimately reflects the myriad conditions which make up life,† or so profoundly determines the guidance of economic activity. Supplemented by pecuniary competition, the desire of men to 'make money,' it organizes and coordinates our multifarious industrial activities, bringing together men and "jobs," capital and opportunities for investment, supply and demand for goods, in such a way as to satisfy our manifold, constantly fluctuating needs and whims with wonderful ease and regularity. The maintenance of our modern system of specialization or division of labor requires the continuous organization into a single coherent whole of a wide variety of services, materials and forces. This task of organization is a most delicate one, requiring careful measurement and nice adjustment. "This delicate adjustment of parts," to quote Prof. Hamilton, "has been made possible by the rise of the institution of pecuniary calculation, which assigns to the satisfaction of each desire, to the use of each raw material, to each service, to each good, its definite price. Its precision makes possible the maintenance of a highly exact and articulate organization of unlike parts in an industrial order. The prices which make it up constitute an organic system, not a mere aggregation of unrelated items, each having such ultimate connections with the others that the whole can best be represented by means of a vast intricate and tangled network."

We now know something of the way in which prices are determined, of the functions which they perform, and of the interaction of motives and forces which relate them to each other. We are therefore in a position to estimate the value of any criticisms of the present system and appraise the merits of any substitutes proposed. When, for instance, the President of a great American University says that the law of supply and demand has broken down "for the very simple reason that for every staple commodity the demand is greater than the

*W. C. Mitchell, "Business Cycles," P. 31.

†W. H. Hamilton, "The Price System and Social Policy," in *Journal of Political Economy*, January, 1918, P. 41.

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supply," he has failed to grasp the meaning of the law. What he is really troubled about is that it takes a higher price than the customary one to equate demand and supply. We have become accustomed to more or less stable prices for the chief staples. A sudden and extensive rise evokes a howl of rage. One of the most difficult things for a people to do is to revise its standard of living—downward. A nation will without a murmur give its sons to be crippled or killed but a doubling of the price of bread, a reduction of sugar purchases, and all the relatively small inconveniences which a rapidly rising price level brings home to every household, will be vigorously resisted with threats of strikes in vital industries and bitter cursing of speculator and profiteer. It was ever thus. Every war has brought its unusual rise of prices and each time the public has been wont to, and taught to, regard the rise as "unnatural, artificial, and wholly unjustifiable, being merely the wicked work of people who want to enrich themselves, and who are given power to do so, not by the economic conditions . . . but apparently by some absolutely direct and inexplicable interference of the devil."

The faintest acquaintance with the principles enunciated above should show the foolishness of such a belief. Take the present war for example. The supply of goods has been greatly decreased by the transfer of millions of men from productive to destructive pursuits, by the destruction of supplies through submarine and raider, by congestion and waste in transportation, by unfavorable weather for crops, by the increasing exhaustion of raw materials and the consequent necessity of pushing out to poorer and poorer sources of supply. On the other side war has brought insistent and increasing demand for many of our commodities, especially food and raw materials. This demand has been made effective, and has been tremendously increased, by war-time inflation or the abnormal increase of money and credit, thanks to a system of war finance which in some countries made too free use of the printing-press but which in most simply secured a large part of the necessary funds through credit loans from the banks rather than from the actual savings of the people. Canada's inflation, for instance, is in part simply a reflection of world-

wide inflation and in part a result of loaning to the Canadian and Imperial Governments for war purchases and to individuals to help them to subscribe to Government loans. Exploitation may have had some importance in particular instances, chiefly local, and panicky buying had undoubtedly more, but these are relatively minor factors. Scarcity, enlarged demand, and inflation, these are the three root causes of the present trouble, and the greatest of these is scarcity. High prices were inevitable if the fewer goods were to be equated with the increased desire and ability to buy goods. If we will have world-wars, we must pay for them. No war finance, not even the "Made in Germany" brand, can avoid the burden, or even pass the greater part of it on to our grandchildren. One of the ways in which the largest class in all countries will have to suffer is by paying higher prices for its necessities. Rather naively, Royal Commissions after elaborate investigations have come to the conclusion that the worker's standard of living has in many cases been lowered. Could it well be otherwise!

Not only are high prices an inevitable result of war but they would seem at first sight at least to be the best possible correctives of the conditions which brought them about. On the one hand they are S.O.S. calls to producers all over the world to increase production. Thus the pressure of war demand drove the price of spelter or zinc from 5 cents to 27 cents a pound. The influence or rising prices, however, was soon reflected in the zinc-producing districts. Prospecting was stimulated, new mines were opened, smelters were enlarged and new ones built. Production increased so rapidly that prices have since fallen to below 8 cents, a figure which, considering higher costs, compares quite favorably with the pre-war price. Thus the problem has worked itself out. Of course there are instances where supply is temporarily fixed and could not be affected by higher price but such cases are very rare. Again high prices are the most vivid way of bringing home to consumers the fact that a shortage exists, they are indeed the only real preceptors in the matter of economy and substitution. In these two ways high prices bring about their own cure; but they are a remedy, not without disadvantages,

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for they tend to hit the poor with special severity and they may mean inflated profits for fortunate producers or dealers. However these defects may in part at least be corrected and in any case comparison has not to be made, as we shall see, with any ideal remedy.

The popular remedy is one which attacks the symptoms of the disease, rather than the cause. Soon after the outbreak of this war, as of most wars, governments were besieged with complaints against the rising cost of living. The blame was of course laid at the door of speculation, profiteering, exploitation by middlemen. To curb this wickedness, all that needed to be done, so the press told the public and the public told the government, was to fix maximum prices. Now it is conceivable that the State could fix prices with success. But certain conditions would have to be fulfilled. The State would have to understand thoroughly the nature of prices and the price system, and would have to assume the various functions with regard to production and consumption which the price system and competition have been shown to perform. Whether a single authority could be set up with wisdom enough to exercise the power with any certainty of beneficial results is doubtful, for the play and interaction of all the motives and considerations that determine prices and relate them to each other would seem to defy human calculation. History is full of unsuccessful attempts. The experience of Julian the Apostate, of Constantine, of Mediaeval Europe, of some American colonies during the Revolution, of Revolutionary France, goes to show that governmental regulation of prices usually results in aggravating the evils which it seeks to remedy. But an age of supermen, of super-organizers, may defy the teaching of history. Success is still conceivable. In the following paragraphs, we shall attempt to discover whether in the present war governments have been any more successful in realizing the nature of and executing the great task which popular clamor against high prices forced upon them.

The case for fixing prices is in large part merely the criticism of what Mr. Hoover calls "the specious arguments of the siren of high prices." The force that drives most Governments to adopt the policy is the popular cry that if prices rise,

the poor alone suffer. High prices, it may be, reduce consumption, but they reduce it through the methods of famine, throwing the greater part of the burden on the people of limited means. Money, if you like, is just a system of food or commodity tickets; your dollar bill is a blank ticket, enabling you to command the world—to the extent of one dollar. Unfortunately these tickets are unequally divided and as long as this is true, what is an inconvenience to the rich man may be a cruel hardship to the poor. But, on the other hand, the fact must be accepted that any remedy that materially reduces consumption must accomplish its object chiefly through the great body of consumers. The rich after all are relatively few in number and their consumption of the chief necessities, such as bread, is individually very little greater than that of the masses of the people. Besides they are better able, and perhaps as a class more likely, to respond to a patriotic appeal for substitution of foods and readjustment of diet. Finally, the real point is whether the proposed alternative offers any better solution of the problem. Can the unequal incidence of high prices be remedied by any governmental legerdemain with prices?

Recent experience confirms the verdict of history that the moment a government attempts to fix maximum prices, it sets in motion forces which react to the injury of the poor even more than to the injury of the rich. The English handling of the sugar question is a case in point. As this is a commodity of which the supply was absolutely controlled by the government, this is usually cited as a successful instance of price regulation, but a Royal Commission reported last summer that if other necessities were similarly controlled and distributed, the unrest would become very dangerous during the winter. Finding itself with only 75 per cent. of the usual importation, the Sugar Commission, instead of rationing the people or selling the diminished quantity for what it would fetch, simply fixed a price somewhat below the market level. At this price it turned the sugar over to the grocers in proportions in which the total was divided before the war and insisted on their distributing it equitably among their regular customers at corresponding prices. As businesses wax and wane, and as

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an unexampled shifting of the English population had occurred since 1913, the grocers found it impossible to work out the principle strictly. They adopted instead what was perhaps the best course left open to them by giving away the sugar "with a pound of tea," "sometimes in the literal sense of that expression, but more often simply by being accommodating or otherwise, according as the would-be purchaser of sugar was in respect of other things a customer whom it was desirable to placate." The results were worse than if no attempt had been made to control prices.¹ For in the first place, if allowance is made for indirect payments and for the large amount of inconvenience and annoyance endured, the consumers as a whole paid just as much as they would have paid in an open market. And in the second place, unrestricted prices would have brought a more just distribution of the shortage. Under the scheme adopted, the restriction of supply fell almost wholly on the poor who were "choked off" by the grocers, and on those localities where the industrial population had grown most rapidly. Obviously the desire of the retailer to placate the rich would give the wealthy at least their usual advantage. The poor could seldom afford to spend a couple of shillings on other things for every pound of sugar bought and so were frequently refused any sugar at all. Food Controller Devonport steadily refused to force the grocers to sell because he realized that at the government price the sugar would not have gone round and the queue system of distribution would have resulted, first-comers getting all they asked for and late-comers getting none at all. Time and again during the present war the test of physical power which is involved in the queue system has been proved just as inequitable as that of money power and much more conducive to industrial unrest. The scandals of unequal distribution of sugar finally compelled the adoption of a system of rationing based on registered orders.

The defeat of other attempts to help the poor by price fixation has been brought about by simpler methods of evasion, usually by some consumers ignoring the fixed price and privately offering more. Instances of such evasion in every

¹Prof. Cannan, *Economic Journal*, Dec. 1917, p. 466.

country are legion. The present Food Controller of France compares himself to a gamekeeper surrounded by poachers and laments that "The tradespeople and middlemen have invented no end of tricks to evade my prescriptions, and this I blame for my present embarrassments. They have been, I might almost say, the greatest curse of this war."² But for conclusive evidence we must go to submissive, law-abiding Germany, and here the evidence is overpowering. "It is an interesting commentary on the psychology of a people," says a volume³ recently put out by two experts of the United States' Food Administration, "to realize that, despite patriotism and discipline, Germans of means never hesitated to circumvent the food laws in order to secure from the producing class food-stuffs whose sale was contrary to regulations. Despite constant appeal by the authorities that success in the war depended in part upon the maintenance of the food regulations, producers were always willing to break them, and so were the consumers of means." Or again, "Evasion was easy and constantly practised, the evasion taking the form of direct communication outside of the state channels of trade, between the producer in the country and the consumer of means in the city. . . . The people of means could secure more than their share of dairy products, meats, fruits and vegetables through price manipulation and circumvention of the regulations that were impossible to the working classes. On the other hand, the classes of means could secure more than their legal share of flour and sugar because these could be hoarded, whereas hoarding was impossible to the poor because of lack of money. Under these circumstances, the natural trend of events worked to the advantage of the well-to-do classes and to the disadvantage of the poor." Professor Ashley tells us that so numerous were the violations of the bread regulations by the bakers "that in a great city like Frankfort the Municipal Council had to give up the whole of every Wednesday to such cases, until the Government conferred summary jurisdiction

²Toronto Globe, Feb. 14, 1918.

³Kellogg and Taylor, *The Food Problem*, pp. 86-7.

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on the Public Prosecutors.”¹ Even under the present rationing system, Herr Michaelis himself admitted that bread tickets had been forged (chiefly by the the rich, of course) and illegally used in appalling numbers. In Munich, 50,000 more bread cards were issued than there were inhabitants.² Another indisputable proof of unjust distribution was the fact that while Germany had bread grains sufficient to have guaranteed a flour ration of 300 grams per capita, the ration was first fixed at 225 grams, then 220, and then as low as 175, though it was later restored to 220. This meant that the 20,000,000 industrial workers had to suffer dearly because the 25,000,000 agrarians consumed more than their pro rata of foodstuffs, fed a portion to domesticated animals, and sold to the rich in disregard of the regulations. Finally the steadily increasing severity of the penalties attached by law to the violations of official regulations bears eloquent testimony to the fact that the Germans are becoming a nation of law-breakers. This augurs well for the German people but not for the theory of maximum prices.

But evasion is not the greatest objection to fixing prices. The vital objection is that a maximum price, if it achieves its object of lowering the price below the market level, discourages production and thus accentuates the scarcity which is the root cause of the consumer's present trouble. As Mr. Hoover put it, “you find immediately when a maximum price is established that all of the consumers of the country who can open a chain directly with the producer at once do so, and they not only open a chain for their daily needs, but they proceed to hoard at once, and the phenomenon accompanying a maximum price has been the total disappearance of that commodity all the way from a fortnight to three months from the normal market, because those minority consumers who can reach the producer directly will absorb the whole supply and they will make their own bargains and often if they do make it they set up a cycle; and it has been an economic failure ex-

¹Quarterly Review, Oct. 1915, p. 461.

²The Spectator, April 14, 1917.

cept where there has been a club to enforce it.”³ Mr. Hoover was not thinking here of the permanent results which are even more serious. The chief mistake of the price fixers is to fail to realize the widely different costs of different producers and set a sort of average price, which may be fair enough for some producers but which is below the cost of those who are unfavorably situated. The latter curtail their production or drop out of business altogether. The nature of the industry is of importance in this connection. If you take a highly specialized manufacturing industry, price fixing is fairly feasible, because production is carried on in a few large factories specially designed and equipped for a narrow line of product, raw materials are obtained and products disposed of through well-defined channels, and cost-accounting is more or less highly developed. The manufacturer will find it very difficult to divert his energies to some other line and will, if necessary, run at a loss for a considerable length of time. But with agriculture it is entirely different. “Food production is carried on not by large companies but by multitudinous farmers; some large, but the majority small, who do not keep books, who can obtain their materials and dispose of their produce in all sorts of odd ways, and who in the normal course of their industry produce a score or more kinds of foodstuffs in the year and expand or contract one in favour of another as prices and rotations prompt. Limit the price of milk and the farmer can churn it into butter; limit butter prices and he can give you cheese; limit cheese prices and instead of dairy products he can give you meat; limit meat prices and he can put his land under potatoes; fix a price for potatoes and he can turn to the next, and the next, and the next kind of produce that is still ‘free’, until such time as his last resource is rounded up and he goes out of farming in sheer weariness and disgust. If low food prices in combination with optimal home production are considered imperative, nothing less than the bringing of

³Hearing on Production and Conservation of Food Supplies before U.S. Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 65th Cong., 1st Sess., Part 4, pp. 377-8.

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the farmers into the category of 'controlled firms' will suffice, and he would be a bold food controller who would essay that."¹

But may it not be possible that during a great war the results of fixing prices will be less harmful than all economic experience would lead us to expect? Will not the wonderful patriotic motive which now exalts and purifies the actions of men counteract the compelling power of that self-interest which governs them almost entirely in times of peace? This is conceivable but unfortunately the evidence allows no such optimism. Paris fixed a maximum price for butter but only succeeded in driving butter away to localities where it could be sold for what the market would pay. Other maximum prices which the French Government fixed had the same results and after much discussion those for potatoes, milk, butter and cheese of all kinds were finally abolished. England found the same difficulty when Lord Devonport interfered with the price of milk and butter. The attempt of Germany to fix prices for grains was a regular "fiasco" and may be described in the words of Dr. Taylor,² Mr. Hoover's assistant:—

The German agricultural classes regarded these prices, high as they are, as below the extraordinary costs of production in war time, and they have never equalled a normal crop in any one of them or an average of the normal crop. Of course, fertilizers were scarce, labor was very scarce, and all of the conditions were difficult, but the financial impulse was lacking.

They took from the farmer all his oats and half his barley; they took from him, theoretically, or could take from him all his wheat and rye, except certain portions left with him for his own family. But the relative prices tempted the farmer to sell barley as such and to feed the wheat and rye to his live stock. The farmer was requisitioned for half his barley and the other half of his barley left to him to do with as he pleased. He sold it and then turned around and fed wheat and rye to his stock instead of barley. The Government has each year discovered a difference of 1,000,000 or more tons of rye and wheat between the crop estimate and what they finally secured. In theory they confiscated those grains; in practice they could not. They did not have anyone to send to the farmer for the grain;

¹J. Hilton, Edin. Review, July 1917, p. 46.

²Hearings before U.S. Senate Committee already referred to, Pt. 4, p. 426.

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they did not have the wagons to bring the grain from the farm. They have no large elevator systems in Germany and had no places to store the grain. All they could do was confiscate on paper. They took so much, and said, "We will get the rest of it in units of so much per month," and then at the end of the seventh or tenth month the man who came to get that month's unit found that the farmer had fed it to his live stock. What was to be done with the farmer? They could not fine or imprison him; he could not be penalized. They were helpless before the farmer. In other words, having failed to stimulate production by adequate encouragement, and having held the price of bread low, they defeated their own object in both directions, produced dissatisfaction with the producer, established little satisfaction with the consumer, and lost a large amount of human food that was diverted to the feeding of animals.

Again the handling of the meat problem is quite of a piece with this story of miscalculation. The facts have been made available by an article in the British Economic Journal,¹ which we shall freely draw upon in this paragraph. The German meat problem is primarily one of fodder which had been imported in enormous quantities before the war. Thus it first became acute in early months of 1915 when the potato famine forced the reduction of the ranks of "potato devourers" from over 25,000,000 to 16,500,000 head of swine. "In reply to the obvious question, What became of the corpses of these slaughtered millions? one has but to refer to the contemporary mushroom growth of meat preserving factories and to the numerous advertisements during the following summer, offering decayed sausage meat at low prices for foddering purposes, to realize that large numbers of capitalists were taking advantage of the situation to adapt themselves to a new and lucrative branch of industry." The rising meat prices brought forth a chorus of complaint in September and culminated in October in street riots and the familiar night-long queues outside closed market halls. To such events the Press and public responded with the usual insistent cry for maximum prices and, after the superficial and half-hearted action of the autho-

¹Mary Stocks, "The Meat Problem in Germany," Economic Journal, June 1916.

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rities in prescribing "meatless days," the desired measure was at last forthcoming, November 4, upon approved Teutonic lines. The immediate effect was reflected in the lament of the *Kölnische Zeitung* of November 16: "Our farmers are now withholding pigs as they withheld potatoes." The normal pig supply of 12,000 a day on the Berlin market dropped roughly to 5,000 in late November and to 3,000 or less in February. The usual forms of illegal evasion are recorded, "such, for example, as weight manipulation, the addition of bones, presents by stock dealers to the children of farmers, incidental fees, together with frank, unashamed demands by dealers to butchers, who dared not prosecute for fear of cutting themselves off from future supplies." Moreover, much of the above-mentioned depleted market supplies disappeared into the meat-preserving factories, for preserved meats could be stored for speculative purposes, "in preparation for the future statutory price increase which experience has taught German producers to regard as the reward of arbitrary withholding." After several tinkerings with the maximum price order, the authorities finally despaired of solving the meat problem by price regulation and substituted therefor the old conservative ideal of food control on the lines of organized production, the entire live stock trade being compulsorily syndicated in the hands of provincial organizations of the traders concerned. Parenthetically, it may be said that Germany's fodder problem will now be solved, if transportation can be organized, by the importation of unlimited amounts of sunflower meal and coarser grains from Russia.

Another illustration may be taken from the experience of the United States. The unprecedented prices to which soft coal had risen in the early part of 1917 led to tremendous efforts to increase supplies. Hundreds of new mines were opened and up till August the production of 1917 exceeded the extraordinary record of 1916 by an enormous margin. Output reached a climax in July. Then the price was fixed at \$2 per ton at the pit's mouth. August saw a violent drop to a level which after a slight recovery in September was again reached in October. Car shortage was blamed for the decrease, but as a matter of fact this existed before as well as

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after the new policy went into effect and according to Prof. Anderson¹ was responsible for only half of the reduced output between August and November 10. There seems little doubt but that the price-fixing order which by the way was revised upwards on October 27 and several times later must bear a large share of the responsibility for the coal famine of last winter. Factors which accentuated the scarcity were failure on the part of many consumers to lay in their usual stock because of Dr. Garfield's repeated assurance that sufficient coal would be forthcoming at the Government price, failure on the part of some mines to work their best veins or to pick over their coal, and failure on the part of the Government to fix the price of coke. Instead of selling three tons of coal at \$2 a ton, it paid producers to convert them into two tons of coke which sold at \$6 a ton.² This was just one of the complex inter-relations of prices which the Government failed to realize.

A special despatch from Vancouver to the *Montreal Star* of March 21 shows us that Canada can also furnish neat illustrations of this principle:

Fishermen operating from this port, Victoria, Nanaimo and other coastal points, are tying up their boats as a result of the regulations and restrictions imposed upon them by the terms of the Order-in-Council recently passed for the purpose of stimulating the consumption of fish throughout Canada. The men contend that it is impossible for them to make a living at the rate set by the regulations. For several days past the fishermen have been tying up their boats as they came in, rolling up their gear, and have started out to hunt jobs in shipyards and other places where wages are high.

In fairness it should be said that there are possibly a few cases where the diminution in production has not been serious enough to counterbalance the saving in price to the consumer. The fixing of copper prices in the United States is probably such an instance, for the mines which were closed down by the 23½ cent price, though fairly numerous, contributed but an

¹Proceedings of Amer. Econ. Association, Dec. 1917.

²Unpopular Review, April-June, 1918.

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insignificant part of the total production. On the other hand one must consider the damper given to prospecting for new sources of supply and the failure to provide to the utmost for the copper famine which competent observers predict in the next few years.

On the whole consumers as a class and particularly those of limited means find by bitter experience that the fixing of maximum prices aggravates rather than relieves the inevitable burden of war. What about the second main argument used by its advocates—the claim that it is necessary in order to stop “profiteering” and other devilish commercial practices of middlemen, which are supposed to be mainly responsible for the scarcity and the high prices? There is no doubt that suspicion of profiteering has been very widespread and in England at least has been one of the main causes of industrial unrest. Just what profiteering is, few people know and nobody dares to define. If it means securing control of available supplies, creating artificial scarcity, and thus boosting prices, it is highly reprehensible. But this has occurred to so small an extent that the effect on the general price movement has been insignificant. Doubtless there have been instances, chiefly local and on a small scale, but numerous investigations in several countries have hitherto been without results, even though the Commissions contained Labor and Socialist members. Besides there are remedies more effective than price-fixing.

If profiteering means storing up supplies in order to sell later at a higher price, it is difficult to see where the harm arises, for as we have already seen, speculation of this sort is a legitimate device for keeping consumption more equable than production. If too much is stored up or hoarded by a dealer in this way, the dealer loses his bet; price may be higher now but it will be much lower when the increased supply is eventually thrown on the market. There is much talk of destruction of part of the supply in such cases, but obviously unless a man is a monopolist it is foolish to destroy part of his property. The wholesale condemnation of speculation represents a sudden excess of righteousness for Canada over five years ago when every second or third man had sunk his money in Western town lots—the least defensible kind of speculation—; and

when it comes to hoarding, few housewives have the right to cast the first stone. Moreover, before a government forbids speculation and hoarding, it should recall to mind the parable of the five foolish virgins and then make sure that it is both able and willing to perform the necessary function which it is denying to private individuals.

Finally, if profiteering means simply taking advantage of the state of the market, i.e. of supply and demand conditions without illegitimate manoeuvring, it is undoubtedly true that it has been a source of inflated profits to fortunate producers and dealers. But is it wrong for a seller to take advantage of an increased demand for his goods? Is it right for a buyer to get all he can for his money and wrong for a seller to get all he can for his goods? Since all of us are both buyers and sellers, shall we have one rule of conduct when we are buyers and another when we are sellers? Suppose the seller did not take advantage of the market, would market price be lower or would the extra profit simply be diverted to another pocket through resale by the first purchaser to a more eager purchaser? In other words are the sellers responsible for high prices or is the cause the frantic scramble of the buyers for the available supply? Finally if resale did not take place and prices were actually getting below the market level what would be the effect on consumption and production? Would the existing abnormal conditions tend to be corrected? Such questions have only one answer. But, it will be asked with horror, do you justify the taking of a profit of 80 per cent. on the capital invested in a meat-packing plant—to quote a beloved Canadian example? In reply it may first be noted that the reduction of that profit to zero would have reduced the price of meat only to a very slight extent. In the second place, if there was no unfairness in the securing of the contracts, the policy of the company in taking the highest market price was best in its own interest and in that of the public. But that is far from saying that such huge profits should be left with the company, it is rather a case for such drastic taxation as has recently been announced.

But while profiteering in the objectionable sense has been a minor factor, the suspicion that it did exist had a great deal

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of influence in driving governments to adopt the expedient of maximum prices. Has such government regulation had any greater success from this point of view? It is not necessary to multiply illustrations. Those already given showing the extent to which evasion has been practised suggest the answer. We can perhaps accept the conclusion of the two sympathetic observers already mentioned¹ that especially as regards perishable products, "speculation has not been checked" and "extortion has not been prevented." In the case of bread and sugar in Germany, greater success in their opinion was obtained, the middleman's margin being held down, thanks in the first case to a formula which made the price of bread per pound equal to the price of flour per pound, and in the second case to the complete governmental control of supply. But the proof of the violations of the bread regulations already adduced shows that even here the success obtained was far from perfect.

Before drawing final conclusions as to the actual working out of price fixing experiments, a few special cases may be given. What of England's recent experience? Providing any control of prices is permissible, Lord Rhondda's methods have been as careful and as scientific as they could possibly have been. On assuming office he stated his policy was "to fix the prices of those articles of prime necessity over which it was possible to obtain effective control at all stages from the producer down to the consumer." But as he was determined to avoid if possible a general system of food tickets or other detailed rationing, he realized the necessity of allowing producers and middlemen enough profit to ensure adequate supplies, and of setting prices high enough to check unnecessary consumption. Acting through skilled accountancy, therefore, he has tried to determine costs at every stage in the progress of the commodity from producer to consumer, and to fix price margins which would leave a sufficient incentive to the business man to further the work of food supply without allowing him to plunder the public. But careful as Lord Rhondda has been, he does not seem to have avoided the danger of tempting the dealer to withdraw supply from the market or to transfer his

¹Kellogg and Taylor, Op. Cit., P. 84.

resources to unregulated or more favorably regulated trades. As of his predecessor it has been said of him: "As soon as he touches anything it disappears from the market; he interferes with one commodity and another hits him on the nose; everything he does has the most surprising results." Just one more illustration of the danger of tossing a monkey wrench into the delicately adjusted mechanism of the price system! To illustrate only from the meat problem, English farmers assert as a body that Rhondda's scale of meat prices has made it more profitable for the farmer to slaughter his cattle in an immature state, and this assertion seems to have met no serious refutation. The Central Chamber of Agriculture declares that the fixed prices for bacon and pigs do not cover the cost of production and "will stop the breeding and rearing of pigs."² Mr. Clynes, a Labor Member of Parliament and Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food, confessed that "the price of meat had been reduced to so low a figure that they found retail butchers' shops were closing because the butchers could not pay their way at the prices charged, and they had to consider a small increase so that the men engaged in distributing meat might have a reasonable wage for their services to the country."³ Last December a government campaign was in full swing urging voluntary reduction of meat consumption to 2 pounds per week, and Lord Rhondda was insisting there was little or no diminution in the flocks and herds in the country. But within a few weeks, the meat queue made its appearance and the voluntary ration was compulsorily halved. Obviously maximum prices had as much to do as the submarine with the sudden change. Finally Lord Rhondda has been forced to give up his original policy and embark on the elaborate policy of compulsory rationing—so far, only for meat, margarine, tea, butter, fats and sugar. Perhaps this had to come, but we may be sure that price fixing brought it sooner and left scantier supplies to be divided when it did come.

The friends of government control of prices would expect much from the experience of the Australian states, which

²Morning Post, Dec. 6, 1917.

³Quoted in The Spectator, Jan. 12, 1918.

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have long been the home of "advanced" legislation and which since the war have pushed state regulation to quite new limits. According to a competent Australian economist,⁴ himself a member of a price-fixing board, the success of the measures taken to keep prices down has been the subject of marked controversy. In Victoria and West Australia price-fixing was abandoned after a trial of twelve months. Though in other states the laws were taken more seriously, Mr. Wilkinson concludes that on the whole such price-fixing "had little effect on the cost of living, though in some instances it resulted in cheaper commodities, as long as original supplies lasted." The last clause has a world of meaning! A statistical examination of the rise in prices showed a greater rise in regulated Sydney and Brisbane than in Melbourne and Adelaide where there was little regulation. On the other hand a favorable verdict is passed upon federal regulation and on most of the various attempts of the state or municipal governments to engage directly in commercial enterprises, e.g. Sydney's fish shops.

High claims have been made for the success of the attempt by the Governments of Canada and the United States to fix the price of wheat. It has been said for instance that in the absence of restrictions flour would have gone to \$25 a barrel. In spite of initial hoarding by farmers, enormous supplies of wheat and flour have been secured for export to the Allies. Public speculation is almost a memory and the crop, it is claimed, has been distributed more evenly than ever before, without terminal accumulations and consequent storage costs and delays. It is true also that when the Canadian Board of Grain Supervisors met recently to fix a price for the next crop, there was practically no criticism of the work of the Board and of the fixing of prices. There have been some instances of evasion; inferior grades of wheat have been bought at the price of the best grades, and in some instances the U.S. Government has had to enforce its threats of commandeering grain of farm-

⁴Wilkinson, *State Regulation of Prices in Australia*. The writer has had to depend on a lengthy review in the *New York Evening Post*, April 11, 1918.

ers who were unnecessarily holding it back. But such cases have been relatively insignificant.

It is however too early to give any ultimate judgment. For one thing we must wait to see if the present supplies of wheat last until the new harvest. We know that the U.S. has recently fallen far short of its promised monthly shipments to the Allies—partly, but not wholly, because of tonnage scarcity. We know also that the supply of wheat in both countries is only a fraction of the normal reserve at this time of year, and that Mr. Hoover is now urging a great reduction, indeed a halving of ordinary domestic consumption. Evidently the appeals to patriotism and all the “push” behind Mr. Hoover’s or Mr. Hanna’s conservation and substitution program have not been as effective in eliminating waste and checking consumption as slightly higher prices would have been. Anyone familiar with rural Ontario at the present time knows to what extent wheat is being fed to live stock;¹ to expect anything else is to put too great a strain on the benevolence of the farmer who finds that the present fixed price for wheat, when compared with the current unregulated prices for oats and barley makes it the cheapest food for finishing hogs and feeding poultry.

But a more important test will be the magnitude of this year’s harvests. Undoubtedly there will be an increased production of wheat in both countries for weather conditions have been excellent, and farmers will as a class make some response to the insistent appeal that has been made to them, for there is more than patriotism in wheat at \$2.20. But the majority of farmers will not be able to resist the much louder appeal of \$4.50 flax, \$1.90 barley, \$2.50 rye, and 95c. oats, and into these the major part of the surplus effort will go. The newspapers tell us of the estimated increase in wheat acreage in the West; they fail to tell us of the immensely greater prospective increases in the coarser grains. Would it not have been better to have let the market take its own course? If prices had risen somewhat higher than they have been in recent months, they would at any rate have been more eloquent advo-

¹Note frequent letters to the *Toronto Globe*.

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cates of greater production than all the printer's ink that has been wasted, and no premium would have been placed on the production of other grains. The extraordinary production of wheat that would have resulted would probably have solved the famine problem of the Allies and brought lower prices than we shall have to pay next winter.

But would \$5 wheat and \$25 flour have been tolerable? This argument against high prices that it puts bread almost beyond the reach of the masses no longer has the same force, now that Mr. Hoover tells us all we must reduce our consumption by one half and substitute other cereals. It is impossible to say what the uncontrolled price might have been but it seems probable that the above alarming estimates are exaggerated. While wheat did rise one day last May to \$3.05 in Winnipeg and \$3.45 in Chicago, the explanation is not far to seek. The significance of a series of unprecedented events had just dawned upon all those interested in grain. What with heavy losses through submarines, the failure of the crops in Argentine and Australia, discouraging reports from England and France, record winter killing of winter wheat acreage in the U.S. and bad weather in Canada, the world actually faced the prospect of famine. Alarming advice from Washington initiated a continent-wide campaign of flour hoarding by American consumers and this in turn was reflected in a furious competition of the millers with the already competing Allied buyers. This latter point, the lack of a unified authority, has until recently been a grave defect of Allied purchasing policy; at one time, for example, there were 30 or 40 Allied buyers, so Mr. Hoover told the U.S. Senate, furiously competing for the purchase of the bean supply of Brazil. But the immediate cause of the greater part of last May's sky-rocketing of prices was due to the fact that the Royal Wheat Commission, with the best intentions but with slight insight into the methods of the grain trade, had "cornered" the market; in other words, the market for the better grades had been oversold and the short sellers were forced at almost any cost to buy wheat to cover their sales. The public of course blamed the speculators for the high prices, not realizing that practically all the speculation was on the selling side of the market and would there-

fore tend to drive prices down. The machinery which had been built up by a long process of commercial evolution and which was run at the moment by an admittedly able group of men, had just failed to rise to the supreme occasion but it had not been entirely discredited. Would Government control have done as well? One wonders what would have happened if earlier in the year, before anybody could have foreseen that series of disastrous events, a price-fixing body had established a rigid fixed price. Was it not better that prices should have been allowed *gradually* to adapt themselves to the abnormal situation from the first moment that a few of the shrewdest dealers began guessing that all was not well with the wheat supply? Would it not be preferable to-day to have a more elastic system of control, one which would daily adapt itself to the changing situation, one which would automatically bring consumption and production into equilibrium, and one which would not disturb with untoward consequences the delicately adjusted relations of the price system? Control would of course be necessary, especially control of exports to prevent supplies seeping out in too great quantities to the neutral nations, such control also as would bring the hitherto competing Allied buyers under a single authority with power to allot purchases in accordance with needs. This might be supplemented by such oversight of speculative trades as the officials of the grain exchanges voluntarily introduced last summer—it should be noted that by the first week in July the price had been brought down to a range of \$2.20 to \$2.30 in Winnipeg, without any government control. Monthly reports of holdings, profits, etc., might also be required from all licensed grain dealers, and corrected if necessary by inspection of books.

We must conclude that the overwhelming weight of evidence is against a policy of fixing maximum prices. While ostensibly an easy solution for the problems of profiteering and the distress of the consumer, it fails to accomplish the objects sought and it has a multitude of unforeseen consequences which are frequently worse than the original evils. It fails to check waste and unnecessary consumption; it drives the commodity from the market and discourages production;

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it throws out of balance the sensitive mechanism of the price system; it involves endless frauds, with a general lowering of the moral standards of the community. It therefore aggravates the conditions which it seeks to remedy and if pursued far enough, it will inevitably drive the Government to adopt two other drastic measures. For arbitrary prices determined with no reference to competition must be supplemented by arbitrary regulation of production and consumption. The State, that is to say, must control production and direct the production of the different commodities, either by a system of compulsory labor or by some graduated scale of rewards which would lure the requisite proportion of laborers to the different industries. Further consumption would have to be controlled by an elaborate system of rationing. Only by so doing would the State ensure the performance of the various functions ordinarily performed by the competitive price system which has now been discarded, in whole or in part, as the governor of industry. Most Governments fail to understand those functions—so automatically and unconsciously are they performed at present—or to see the necessity of assuming them. If they do take up the burden, there is at least a chance of success, though the task is so huge and so complicated that it might seem to require something like omniscience on the part of a single authority. For instance, all the available evidence goes to show that Germany, in spite of her wonderfully efficient bureaucracy, has made at least a partial failure of rationing, and as for production she has regarded any comprehensive measure of control as impossible even for her.

In Canada, at any rate, the adoption of these measures is entirely impracticable. Control of production in either of the two ways suggested is obviously impossible. Rationing is likewise impracticable because the population is scattered so thinly over so large an area and because the system would require a civil service and police staff disproportionate to the total of the population. Mr. Hoover's conclusion on this point for the U. S. is even truer of Canada; figuring that it would require more than 1,750,000 people, he says, "rationing is a hopeless suggestion and one which can never under any possible conception be imposed on the American

people." We may therefore congratulate ourselves that our own authorities have placed production before price and with a few exceptions have steadily refused to adopt a policy of fixing maximum prices.

But to deny the efficacy of what seems the simplest solution is not to deny the desirability of the State concerning itself in other ways with the problem which war has created. The conclusion reached above was not based on any doctrinaire belief in laissez-faire but on a study of the facts of experience. Other forms of State interference or State guidance can undoubtedly be justified by the same test, by the ability to contribute in actual practice to a greater measure of social welfare. Space permits only the barest mention of a few of these. They are all based on the principle that the causes rather than the symptoms of the disease must be attacked. Thus since the root cause of the present trouble in the Northern Hemisphere is scarcity, Governments should bend every effort to augment supplies. In the case of food, for instance, organization of labor supply; aid to producers in securing seed, fertilizers, tractors and other machinery; removal of artificial obstacles, wherever possible; proper direction as to probable trend of future demand; education of producers as to best methods; provision of timely and accurate market information; direction of substitution in food production—such things are indispensable. Most people recognize the necessity of some fundamental reorganization of our productive resources. Where labor, materials, capital, etc., are painfully limited, every possible care should be taken to direct them solely to the production of essentials and, indeed, only those with the highest food values. The food administration should take all practicable steps to facilitate such a reorganization. It is conceivable that, if the supply of any commodity is of supreme importance and if conditions are so uncertain as to provide little or no incentive to producers, the guarantee of a minimum price may be necessary, as has been given for wheat in the United States, and for potatoes and the grains in England. But there are grave dangers of serious financial losses to the State and of creating a vested interest which will resist its own removal.

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On the demand side also, much can be done. Correct information and sound advice will do much to prevent panicky buying and can be effectively supplemented by organization of buyers, encouraged and directed by the Government. Wasteful consumption can be reduced, substitution of less needed or more nutritive foods can be secured, by elaborate publicity and advertising campaigns. Much has been done in this field already, though mistakes have been made through lack of an elementary knowledge of psychology and economics. Man is not a glorified test-tube, nor should he be advised to consume high-priced commodities which represent a wasteful working up of our potential food resources. In these days when the largest part of the commercial supply of poultry comes no longer from the barnyard as a cheap by-product, the average man wisely refuses to accept the \$2.00 chicken as a regular substitute for his \$1.00 three pound beef roast. To demand chickens and thus divert labor to a very wasteful process of converting food potentialities into actual food can only be justified on the optimistic assumption that the war is to be won out of existing stocks of food. But a common sense campaign for economy, substitution, and wise consumption could do a great deal to stretch supplies and check that panicky buying which now tends to give the sellers of certain commodities a quasi-monopoly position.

Finally, to meet that mixture of good and evil which is condemned wholesale as "profiteering," the most effective remedy is drastic taxation of excess profits, taxation far more drastic and pervasive than we have yet attempted. To this end, registration and licensing of middlemen of every kind and for all important commodities; periodical reports as to supplies, costs price margins, and profits; and power to inspect books, if necessary, will be indispensable if "tab" is to be kept on trade conditions and the taxation program made effective. Mere publicity will do a great deal to keep dealers within bounds. But if any instances of objectionable profiteering, such as manipulation or cornering of the market, do occur, these can easily be discovered by experts, and revocation of licenses, commandeering of supplies or other appropriate penalties should follow. Profiteering in the ordinary sense, i.e. tak-

ing advantage of market conditions, would merely result in excessive profits and these would almost wholly come back to the public in the form of taxes. Greater revenue from taxation would mean that the Government would not need to raise so much by credit loans. Less inflation would therefore result and hence one of the chief reasons for high prices would be removed. A policy of war finance based, not on inflation but on drastic taxation, chiefly of incomes, is long overdue in all countries.

If it did actually happen that the price of the chief necessities rose to a level absolutely beyond the reach of a certain class in the nation, a case would be made out for more radical remedies—perhaps higher pension or separation allowances, enforcement of a minimum wage high enough to make possible the purchase of sufficient necessities, or even a Government subsidy. Some of these would of course be attended by dangers. The raising of wages would have to be confined to a limited class, else a vicious circle would result—higher wages leading to higher prices, higher prices to higher wages, and so on. Again such a policy as the English bread policy, whereby, chiefly for political reasons, bread is sold below cost, and the difference is met out of the Treasury, involves the State in heavy expenditure and will probably encourage rather than check the consumption of the subsidized product. The case for should be clearly proved. Rising prices should not be considered apart from rising wages. To what extent do steadier employment and higher wages make up for higher prices? Not wholly, we must admit, but the following quotation from the organ of the British Fabian Socialists is significant:¹

“It is literally true that there were at all times more people hungry in England in the years of peace and prosperity that preceded the war than there are now in the fourth year of unprecedented conflict and expenditure—more infants perishing for lack of milk, more children found at school insufficiently nourished, more adults slowly starving to death, more

¹New Statesman, Feb. 2, 1918, p. 418.

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unfortunate and friendless aged passing silently out of life from sheer lack of food and warmth. Far fewer families in the British Isles failed to get not only a full but even an extravagant Christmas dinner in 1917 than in 1913."

This statement, which is corroborated by organs representing such different angles of social sympathy as *The Nation* and *The Spectator*, gives one a better perspective, and reminds us that the evil of unequal and inadequate incomes is a peace problem as well as a war problem.

W. C. CLARK.

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The Problem of Peace.

Between the time of writing and the moment when the printed page meets the eye of the reader things often happen, in these stirring times, that change the situation and put one's remarks out of date, but we do not think that one of the things likely to happen, in the immediate future, is the proclamation of peace. The last words that have come to us from the British Prime Minister remind us that we can have peace any time, and could have had it any time during the past three years, on the Kaiser's terms, but what we want is a reality, not a phrase, and a large part of the world is convinced that a German peace would not be "a clean peace." In the words of Mr. Lloyd George, "Nobody has been so eloquent on the subject of a League of Nations as the German Emperor. His reply to the Pope breathed the spirit of brotherly love, but in it there was no word about Belgium. On the subject of a League of Nations the German Emperor is absolutely sound; he is prepared to put Germany at the head of it. All through those protestations on the part of the Emperor breathed the spirit of domination; the dagger was wrapped in the Sermon on the Mount." The world desires the Sermon on the Mount, or as much of it as is immediately practicable in international affairs, without the dagger, and there is where the difficulty lies. When Mr. Asquith declared at the beginning that what we desired was the destruction of "Prussian militarism," he meant not the destruction of Germany but the freeing of it from a burden which had been a menace to the peace of the world for the past generation. Behind the diplomacy there was always the sinister figure in shining armour, brandishing the drawn sword. Much has been said about "secret diplomacy," its failure and disgrace; perhaps there is real truth in such statements, but there was no secret about the fact that Britain, Russia and France had been *compelled* to combine in self-defence against a nation that was giving its soul to the dream of conquest, and seeking supremacy on land and sea.

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The style of speech adopted by its representatives in time of war is the same as that used in peace, only more insolent and brutal. Having been able to seize other peoples' territory and plunder it on account of their immense preparations for war, they have pointed triumphantly to their "war-map" as the basis of peace; the world could now have peace on that basis. The Kaiser proclaims the victory of his unconquerable army and declares that those who will not accept his peace will be smashed into submission. In all this there is no sign of a satisfactory peace, except a peace satisfactory to the Germans, which would be the preparation for still further aggression.

Recently the German war-map has received a still further extension and we have had an illustration of what her statesmen mean by the alluring phrase "peace by negotiation." Like some other German ideas it has, from our own point of view, the weakness of being one-sided. They do the negotiating; their victims wriggle and protest but must in the meantime submit. The terms show how gentle and merciful the German can be towards those with whom he professes a desire to live in friendship after the war. It is easy for those who shed nothing more vital than ink to cry out furiously for more vigorous fighting; and the suggestion that if militant journalists and obstinate statesmen took their turn in the first line trenches they would quickly find some way out of the difficulty seems at first sight rather attractive. We are all sometimes overwhelmed with the sense of the awful sacrifice demanded in this struggle for freedom which seems to gain so little headway and to have so many serious set-backs. But we have to face stern facts and flaming rhetoric on one side or the other does not help us. The verdict of men who are in closest touch with the actual realities of the world-situation is that "we must go on or go under."

Mr. Bourassa has denounced the Allies for their attitude towards the Pope and his peace proposal, and their apparent reluctance to give a commanding position to the head of the Roman Church in this business of peace by negotiation. But some of that gentleman's compatriots see quite clearly that, at this stage, he is not the best person to present the claims of the Pope, as the cause of the Allies owes nothing to him.

The world war has split the Roman Church just as much as any other church. Bavarian Catholics marched through Catholic Belgium and Belgium has produced the greatest if not the one really great Catholic figure of the war, Cardinal Mercier. The present writer once heard Mr. Bourassa at Queen's and admired his ability and eloquence. A man who can speak well in both French and English has in this land the elementary gifts for playing a useful mediating part, but in this case it turns out that the higher qualities are lacking; with strange perversity he has chosen a course that does not help any one, not even the Germans. With regard to the position of the Pope, it does not call for elaborate discussion here; naturally we expect from the head of a church that claims to represent the highest form of Christianity a solemn deliverance on a moral question. The unprovoked attack on Belgium and the brutal fashion in which it was carried through seemed to a great part of the world to call for such action. If the neutrality of the Holy See was necessarily of such a kind as to render this impossible, that is not our business, but certainly in that case Protestants cannot be expected to show much zeal for placing the Pope in the position of world-umpire, and it is possible that many Catholics are lukewarm on that point. The services of any one who helps the cause of peace in a war-weary world will be highly appreciated but we are not looking for any real help from the editor of *Le Devoir*, and from him the Pope will not gain much glory.

When we mention Lord Lansdowne, a former Governor-General of Canada, we pass into a different sphere, though he also is something of a mystery. It has been hinted in Canadian newspapers that he is fearful lest the prolongation of the war will do permanent injury to his own class; perhaps that solution is too simple. His first letter was said to be a case of "saying the right things at the wrong time." It received a mixed reception in England and elsewhere but was regarded by some in Germany as a proof that Britain was coming to "a more reasonable" frame of mind. But why there should be a second letter is a further mystery. Even in war time a large measure of liberty is desirable so long as the regulations of the Defence of the Realm Act are not directly

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broken. But it looks as if one who had been a representative of British diplomacy should refrain from embarrassing the leaders of the nation in times of great difficulty. Von Hertling talks of "dialogues across the channel", but on the German side at least they are carried on mainly by the official representatives of the nation. The awkward thing in the situation is that a conciliatory tone is taken by the Prussians to mean that you are ready to back down, and that therefore an increase of arrogance and aggression is justified. Lord Lansdowne is an honourable man and no doubt has reasons for his attitude satisfactory to himself. But it is questionable whether his utterances help forward the cause that he has at heart, "a clean peace." Germany also has some unofficial spokesmen and some of the socialists have denounced the policy of conquests, but speakers and strikers are kept well in hand by the military party and there is now a new hope of a successful outcome of the war that will place genuine Prussianism on a stronger basis.

The Junkers still rage but their wild words seem to have a certain background of fear as if they were shouting to keep their courage up. One gentleman, a member of the Reichstag, with an appropriate name, Herr Wildgrube, is reported to have said, "What is all this hubbub about democracy, seeing that our monarchial state system has proved its efficiency? The reason is that our late government was not sufficiently convinced that all the salvation of Germany comes from monarchial constitutionalism. One cannot avoid the impression that God in His wrath made Bethmann-Hollweg Imperial Chancellor. (It seems rather too bad to place all the responsibility on "the unconditional ally"). It is his fault if the government and the German Empire fall under the dictatorship of democracy." Another orator declared that no rain could wash away Bethmann-Hollweg's declaration "about the wrong we did Belgium." He does not seem to see that this is one way of admitting its truth; and he adds this striking statement: "The last picture must be put to auction in Rome, the last franc must be taken from the French before we undertake to pay the costs of the war ourselves. There will be no revolts. We shall beat them down, but if we do not obtain our war costs,

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the word will be with the Reichstag and then all is over with Prussian tradition." Not much prospect of peace in this but at least a suggestion of the trouble that awaits them if they do not succeed in imposing their terms upon the Allies.

It is not possible here to review President Wilson's able and elaborate statement regarding the war-aims of the United States. That it was a masterly and comprehensive review of the situation all agree. Except on the delicate question of "the freedom of the seas" it was regarded by all parties in Britain as placing the whole matter on a very high plane. We are naturally sensitive as to the question of the freedom of the seas. In times of peace the seas are free to all, and Britain has had the largest share in policing and protecting them. We now know what the phrase means to the Germans, viz., that in time of war the advantage shall rest with the power that can command large land forces. It means also, according to Von Hertling, "that England relinquish strong fortified *points d'appui* on important international sailing routes ,such as Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Hong Kong and the Falkland Islands." He might as well have mentioned Halifax, Quebec and a few more and have stipulated that they pass into German hands. His moderation is remarkable. In this spirit he touches on President Wilson's fourteen points and he might have summed it all up by saying that he agrees with Wilson as far as Wilson agrees with him. The fact is that on some vital points he does not agree with President Wilson at all, and when he does agree it is "on principle," but principle in this case seems to have nothing to do with practice. One would say that the most vital thing in Von Hertling's reply to the various statements of the Allies is that they demand terms upon which a world peace can be discussed, while he declares that the Central Powers and their allies must all act together and they must dispense peace to each of their opponents separately, e.g. peace with Russia concerns only the Central Powers, the arrangement of Polish affairs is their business, Belgium can now start "negotiating" if she feels like trusting the nation that has devastated her country, and so on. "The seventh can only be settled in peace negotiations, but Germany has never demanded the incorporation of

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Belgium by violence." Well! many Germans have made such demands and what Germany has done is to attack an innocent neutral nation and holding its territory by violence, treating its people as slaves. This is only one item in a long list of crimes but it is sufficient to blacken the reputation of Germany for generations to come. When the Chancellor claims that Germany in 1870 simply claimed land "criminally wrung from her" and that it was a case of "disannexation," he is either ignorant of history or is uttering a brazen lie. He must know that Alsace-Lorraine never belonged to Germany in the sense that it belonged to France, that Bismarck while not troubled with any delicate scruples doubted the expediency of taking Metz and "so many Frenchmen into his household," and he cannot be ignorant of the strong protest of the inhabitants against being "redeemed" in this fashion. In fact, all this parade of detailed discussion in his reply simply showed that Germany was still speaking to the world as a conqueror.

It does not seem much use in laying any particular stress on the milder tone of Count Czernin's speech. True, it opens with the following statement, "that the Government was in virtual agreement with some of the peace terms of President Wilson, and that the differences which still exist do not appear to be so great that a conversation regarding them would not lead to enlightenment and rapprochement which might bring together all the Allied States in peace negotiations." But one must place alongside of that the closing paragraph of the same speech:

"I think there is no harm in stating that I regard the recent proposals of President Wilson as an appreciable approach to the Austro-Hungarian point of view, and that to some of them Austria-Hungary joyfully could give her approval. But she must first lay down this principle—that in so far as these propositions concern her allies, whether in the case of Germany's possession of Belgium or in the case of Turkey—Austria-Hungary, faithful to her engagements to fight to the end in defence of her allies, will defend the possessions of her war allies as she would her own. That is the

standpoint of our allies, in regard to which there is perfect reciprocity."

This is a clear statement that whatever restiveness there may be behind the scenes, official Austria is prepared to stand by her allies, or as some would prefer to put it, is still under German control. He does not "demand a square metre or a Kreutzer from Russia, and if Russia, as seems to be the case, adopts the same point of view, peace ought to result." But alongside of this we have to place the fact that the peace with Russia that has so far resulted is "a German peace." The latest statement with regard to that kind of peace comes from Mr. Arthur Henderson, who can scarcely, after his recent speeches and activities, be classed as an extremist. Here it is:

"I have been imagining during the last few days, having regard to what has taken place in Russia, that some German emissary might come along and say, 'Why do we fight? Why cannot we settle it? We are prepared to come to a compromise with you regarding colonies and we are prepared to make concessions in France with reference to Alsace-Lorraine.' That would be a cynical peace containing the seeds of future war. It would not be a clean peace. It would be a desertion of Russia and the women of this country must stand against it like flint."

"We are anxious for peace and the sooner it comes the better. But let me say it must be a peace consistent with the ideals for which we entered the war."

Count Czernin is not much concerned with 'ideals' but he desires peace, peace with Russia and specially with the Ukraine, that his people may have bread. He tells them, "If you spoil peace, if you wish to do without imports of cereals, then it is logical that pressure should be brought to bear by speeches, strikes, revolutions and demonstrations." "I repeat for the tenth time that it is not a question of imperialistic aims or of annexationist's plans. It is a question of assuring for our population the reward they have deserved for their energetic resistance." One can understand and to some extent sympathize with Austrian statesmen in their present perplexity, but when we go back to 1914 and remember their brutal attack on Serbia, we feel that they are to blame for their

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present awkward situation. It is not likely that Austria can, under the most favorable circumstances now gain anything out of the war that has cost her so much and brought her more than ever into the position of a servant of Germany.

When we look at the Russian contributions towards peace it seems to be rather a pretty solid contribution towards the lengthening of the war. If Russia could have simply held her lines against the common foe the end would have been nearer than it is, but after the fall of Kerensky, the collapse of the army, the setting in of anarchy, and the triumph of the Bolsheviks, the country was left at the mercy of the German government. No one can tell what will happen next, speculation is vain and sympathy of distant peoples is no immediate help. It may be that one cannot indict a whole nation, and especially a nation so widespread and composite as Russia, and that a large share of blame is to be laid upon the rottenness of the old regime. But the fact is that Russia has deserted the Allies who made great sacrifices on her behalf, that Roumania has been treacherously betrayed and the brother slavs of Serbia left in the lurch. The facts are black enough and whatever their permanent influence may be they postpone the hope of real peace and increase the difficulty of the problems that face the leading statesmen of the world. The "peace negotiations" at Brest-Litovsk were both a farce and a tragedy. The Russians tell the world that they want a general peace, they appear to present a bold front and then submit when pressure is applied. They spend their strength in fighting one another and then talk about a peace of Tilsit and a war for the proletariat of the world. Their interest is in the war against capital and in the meantime they allow German capitalists to capture their country and consume its resources. They are going to save the working men of all countries and the first effect of their action is to increase the burdens of all real workers **everywhere**.

The effect in Germany is in two directions, both likely to lengthen the war; first, to cause disgust of revolution in all decent people, who will probably say if that is revolution we certainly do not want *that*; and second, by lessening the economic pressure and increasing the power of the military party.

True, there are intelligent Germans who see that the brutal treatment of Russia and the arrogant demands of their leaders may yet lead to disaster, but they are few and have to be careful where and how they speak. With such prospects of peace as are now within sight it seems as if the Allies must continue the struggle with increasing vigour until the real military weight of the United States can be felt by the foe, and that means at the same time the effort to sink more submarines than the Germans can build and to build more ships than the Germans can sink. The U-boats have certainly played havoc with the world's shipping and those who launched them on their ruthless career regard them as the true messengers of peace. On the supposition that peace could be forced upon the world by frightfulness, they have terrorized the small nations that surround them and set the rest of the world firmly against them. We pray constantly for peace but a peace based on righteousness and not one gained by the damnable methods of piracy and murder. It is just because such a peace would leave the world at the mercy of people who do not know what justice and mercy means that the awful struggle has to be carried on until "a clean peace" can be secured.

Since this statement was written there have been additional declarations on both sides as to the probability of peace. The Russian collapse and the treatment accorded to the conquered nation has given to the world a new revelation of what "Prussianism" really means and confirmed the general impression that "peace by negotiation" at the present time means the ruin of the Allied cause. The grand offensive, which, as we write, is in full swing on the Western front, shows that German politicians were simply filling up time while their masters, the military leaders, prepared their great stroke. It looks as if the world must still be prepared to endure great sacrifices in order to avoid "a German peace." The latest news from Germany is that the gentle terms of peace available before the Great Victory on the Somme are no longer possible, but seeing that we were never told precisely what they were this statement does not shed much light on the situation.

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The Political Background of the Western Battle.

Frederick the Great, on a celebrated occasion, asked whether, when one has an advantage, he should use it or not. This perennial maxim of German foreign policy has led to the partition of Russia. Freed from military danger on the Eastern frontier, the General Staff has applied another maxim no less fundamental, the doctrine of unlimited offensive. Contrast the present desperate attack on the British Army with the strictly limited offensives against Serbia and Roumania, and it will be evident what renewed vigour the release of the armies tied in the East has infused into the German machine. Last year reserves had dwindled to the danger point; now Germany is strong enough to stake all against her chief enemy, against the bulwark behind which the American reserves are preparing. The calculation is simple enough. It was worth while to risk war with America because the submarines would strangle England. Although the submarines have not had the hoped-for success, the defection of Russia has given Germany a second chance. If she can break the Allied line, she is mistress of continental Europe. Then the slow sapping by submarines will, she trusts, so wear down communications across the Atlantic that an adequate American army cannot be transported or maintained in Europe. Such is the calculated effect of the fortune that put the East of Europe in her power. Let us examine the kind of world which she hopes to dominate after an 'honorable peace.'

It was the fashion some time ago to say that Trotsky had unmasked the Germans. His country, not to say the world, has paid bitterly for a gesture as superfluous as any recorded in history. The avowed object with which the Bolshevik leaders went to Brest-Litovsk was to appeal to the German proletariat over the heads of the military. They might have remembered that the German socialists were prepared to march in order to crush the abortive revolution of 1915, although the danger from Tsarism has been the plausible excuse for huge German armaments and the ground for maintaining many a political abuse. Now that the robbery is over, *Vorwärts* blandly lectures its Russian brethren:

'The Bolsheviki will probably not hesitate to accuse German Labour of not giving sufficiently active support in a decisive moment. But we must reply that the Bolsheviki have made matters far too easy for German Imperialists. He who strews his money over the street instead of locking it up in a safe must not blame the police for defective watchfulness if he loses it. And he who opens up his country to the entry of the enemy instead of defending it with glowing heart cannot be surprised if the easy prey incredibly strengthens the position of the rapacious assailants.'

'I weep for you,' the Walrus said, 'I deeply sympathize.'

There is no need to speculate whether Bolshevik leaders are in German pay. It may well be that some are.* But the doctrine that they hold made the present chaos inevitable. 'We will fight,' said Lenine, 'against bourgeoisie and imperialism'—yes, against bourgeoisie as *the* capital enemy of the class-conscious proletariat. Again, in the Russian declaration at Brest-Litovsk there was a difference in the fervour with which the doctrine of the proletariat and the principle of national self-determination were affirmed. The first was a creed, the second a concession to the present imperfection of humanity. For the vertical lines drawn between peoples obscure what the Maximalists regard as the fundamental distinction, the horizontal cleft between the masses and those who exploit them. This is the reason, for example, why they assaulted the small nation of Roumania. It was nothing to them that their neighbour had been twice cruelly betrayed by Russia, but there was a chance of carrying the social revolution into a country ruled by its upper classes.

Such a government in such a ruined country as Russia cannot afford to indulge in the luxury of two wars; indeed the class enmity prevents any degree of unity against the invader. So the Bolsheviks naturally chose the class-war. The Duma and the Zemstvos, suspected as bourgeois bodies, have been

*Some documents published in a Paris paper appeared to demonstrate the connection of the chief Bolshevik leaders with Germany, but a close inspection raises more than a doubt as to their authenticity (see the *New Europe*).

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treated in a manner for which even the Tsar's regime hardly gives a precedent. Yet these assemblies were the soil from which a constitutional Russia would naturally develop. There is bitter truth in Count Czernin's gibe that Trotsky, after posing at Brest-Litovsk as a democrat, went home to Petrograd and enforced his views on the people with machine guns. It is in the light of the Bolshevik attitude to the Duma and the Zemstvos that we must interpret their relation to the Allies. The chief Allied nations are in their eyes bourgeois and capitalist; their Parliaments and Presidents are stigmata revealing the bourgeois taint. That is why the telegram from the Moscow Soviet appealed over President Wilson's head to the exploited masses. I am far from contending that Allied diplomats have been perfectly tactful, but their sin, from the Bolshevik standpoint, is not one of manner; their original sin is that they exist. To argue that if we had gone to Stockholm or had not delayed Trotsky at Halifax, for example, we should now be on different terms with Russia, is utterly to misconceive the depth and strength of a portentous movement.

On the abstract question of principle the Germans were able to meet the Bolsheviks half-way. They too believed in national self-determination. Indeed they did not even need conversion. 'Bismarck,' said the *Tag* in a revealing passage, 'Bismarck accepted the doctrine of self-determination *in principle*, but did not apply it to Schleswig-Holstein, and was not earnest in proposing it, although it appeared in the Treaty of Prague. The right of national self-determination is in its origin not in the least a democratic, but a Napoleonic method, an instrument of Caesarism. . . . The right of a nation to self-determination first of all implies a nation. Uneducated hordes will be immediately inclined to the will of the few by external means, whether they be banknotes, phrases, or machine guns.'

Following this enlightened interpretation of an ambiguous phrase the Germans have carved out of Russia a group of smaller peoples. The Polish question will receive a new solution and that unhappy land is now within the German orbit. The Ukraine, where Austria has always fomented discontent, leans on German protection and is not too scrupulous to re-

ceive slices of Polish and Russian territory which even the most fervent nationalist never claimed. This seed of future strife will, it is calculated, bind the Ukraine to the Central Powers. In Courland, Lithuania, and Estonia the German minority now rest secure of domination. Finland, a land of many grievances, has called in German troops against the Reds, and the occupation of the Aland Islands is a reminder to Sweden, if she required it, that the Baltic is now a German lake. Most miserable of all, the remnant of Armenians under Russian power have been handed over to the Turk.

The mechanism of these changes is only too familiar in history. From the time of the Corcyrean factions the weaker party in a civil war have called in outsiders, without thought of the price that would be exacted from them. The German minority, the settled classes, the national groups that had a long score to settle with Russia, all of these now lean upon the German power.

The situation created by the infamous treaty of Brest-Litovsk cannot be considered in isolation. A Germany *undefeated*—even if she does not win—will have around her a cluster of vassal nations, some her present allies, some her creation, others now neutral or even arrayed among her present enemies, but all too weak to risk her displeasure.* She will perpetuate her own power by perpetuating strife among her neighbours. The territory under her tutelage now furnishes a working model of the new system. Flemish are incited against the Walloons; Ukraine is bound to Germany by the territory filched from Poland and Russia; Austria schemes for some method which will once for all ensure the permanent domination of the German-Magyar minority. The keys of the Baltic and of the Black Sea will be in German hands, and it is unnecessary to speculate about the fate of the Eastern Mediterranean. The old Balance of Power was not ideal, but it was perfection

*I am told by a student of Scandinavian papers that since the present offensive began there has been an outburst of recrimination from certain sections because Sweden did not join the Central Powers a year ago. Now, they say, it is too late to join with the hope of sharing the spoils.

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itself compared to a Europe where injustice incarnate will hold and tip the balance. Yet some wise men have proposed to make peace with Germany at the expense of Russia.

An era of Machiavellianism is the prospect before Europe unless the Eastern arrangement is drastically revised; and that cannot be, so far as one can see, till Germany is defeated. I do not underestimate the difficulties, political and economic, which will confront even a triumphant Germany. But what will those difficulties be? Unrest, revolts, and perhaps wars; at the most a deadly struggle between an awkward Russia and the power that has cut her off from her natural exits to the West.† And if one lesson has been taught by the war, it is that the country commanding coal and iron and possessed of a developed manufacturing system holds most of the cards. The 'tentacular state' will therefore strive to keep the nations about it in economic servitude, and will be in the best position to quell revolt.

There stands in the way of this consummation the unbroken line in the West—the glorious dead, the men who now withstand the German onslaught, and the armies of America hastening to reinforce them. Chatham once said that he was winning Canada and India in the battlefields of Europe. The freeing of the East and the removal of a menace from the world now hangs upon the line between the Channel and the Vosges. The struggle is too great and too near to dwell on. If the Germans fail in their supreme effort, then the end may be nearer than we think. If the battles of the last month have any lesson, they have shaken the notion that there is such a thing as an unbreakable line. An army maintains itself by its reserves; if the reserves fail it, then it is not far from destruction. Hindenburg has definitely committed his reserves

†If by ill-judgment the Allies permit a permanent occupation of the East of Siberia (the present landing in Valdivostock is, one hopes, purely a matter of policing), then a new grouping of Powers is foreshadowed by the necessity of keeping Russia from any warm waters. It is prudent to bear in mind that Russia must have exits, and that one exit is *south* to the Persian Gulf and India. Those who imagine that Japan can send an army through Siberia should look at a map.

and the Allied nations must wait with anxiety but with confidence, trusting a general who has never wasted his men.

In these anxious days it is well to remember how incalculable the great movements of history are. Things that seem stable vanish like mist, and present dangers are robbed of their reality before a generation passes. There is a passage in Polybius which may enforce this salutary lesson. When the last king of the Macedonians stood before his captors, Aemilius Paulus said to his council: 'With such a sight before your eyes, be not too boastful in the hour of success, nor take any extreme or inhuman measures against any one, nor in fact ever feel confidence in the permanence of your present good fortune. Rather it is precisely at the time of greatest success, either private or public, that a man should be most alive to the possibility of a reverse. Even so it is difficult for a man to exhibit moderation in good fortune. But the distinction between fools and the wise is that the former only learnt by their own misfortunes, the latter by those of others.' To this Polybius adds some prophetic words by a spectator of Alexander's triumphs a hundred and fifty years before. 'Can you suppose, if some god had warned the Persians or their king, or the Macedonians or their king, that in fifty years the very name of the Persians, who once were masters of the world, would have been lost, and that the Macedonians, whose name was before scarcely known, would have become masters of it all, that they would have believed it? Nevertheless it is true that Fortune, whose influence on our life is incalculable, who displays her power by surprises, is even now, I think, showing all mankind, by her elevation of the Macedonians into the high prosperity once enjoyed by the Persians, that she has merely lent them these advantages until she may otherwise determine concerning them.' 'And this,' comments Polybius, 'has now come to pass in the person of Perseus.'

A certain theory, of course, underlies these remarks, but those who have witnessed the break-up of Russia will be the last to deny that nations carry their fate within them. A people, like Germany, which has snatched so greedily at the momentary fruit of war, and now hazards all in battle to gain still more, has run up a long account. May we be able to say: *Afflavit et dissipati sunt.*

A. S. FERGUSON.



